

*The President Says:***AFT Must Launch Organization Drive**

American democracy is entering the most troubled and critical period of its history. Of this there can no longer be any doubt. Due to various causes our democracy is being threatened on all sides. New forms of despotism of great vigor and aggressiveness, deriving from both domestic and world conditions, are challenging the ways of free men everywhere. As its contribution to the defense of democracy, the American Federation of Teachers must do two things. It must do all in its power to defend the public school and prevent the slashing of the educational budget. Also it must strive increasingly to make the public school program serve the cause of American democracy more effectively than ever before.

In order to discharge this double responsibility the American Federation of Teachers must greatly increase its strength. This requires first of all the launching of a vigorous organizational campaign and the attraction to the Federation of a much larger proportion of the progressive teachers of the Nation. It requires at the same time the development of a spirit of mutual confidence and cooperation with all local, state and national bodies of the American Federation of Labor. Only as we succeed in bringing together the forces naturally devoted to the defense of education and democracy can we hope to be victorious in the bitter struggles ahead. Perhaps the surest way of bringing these forces together is to take the leadership in fighting for those things which the American people want.

GEORGE S. COUNTS.

Speakers Urge Delegates Plan Democratic Fight Against Budget Cuts

Effectiveness and necessity of carrying democracy into the schools and the classrooms were the points stressed in a panel discussion at the Convention. The meeting was addressed by Dr. Frank E. Baker, president of the Milwaukee State Teachers' College; Willard Millsaps, president of the Chattanooga-Hamilton County Federation; Professor W. H. Maurer of the Department of Journalism, Ann Arbor, and president of the Michigan State Federation of Teachers.

Dr. Baker, in his talk, "Vitality and Weakness of our Educational Achievements: Analysis of Public Lethargy," said that the schools had three responsibilities—refusal to become hysterical; to develop a social understanding of the world; and to preserve democracy.

The primary school should lay more emphasis on citizenship and an understanding of the operation of democracy, Mr. Millsaps told the delegates. One of the schools' major faults is the failure to teach students their civic and social responsibilities.

Leadership, Dr. Maurer asserted, was the function of the university, which should teach its students to take the initiative in society. He also said that the schools should lay the groundwork for understanding the planned economies which would be economic systems of the future.

Russell Wise and Harry Tate, both of Chicago, stressed the responsibility of the schools to deal with the problem of "gangster" political control which infests many cities and nations.

Proceedings Available

The proceedings of the national convention which are based on a summary of the stenotypist's report of the convention are available at the cost of \$1.00. They can be secured by writing to the National Office at 506 S. Wabash, Chicago, Ill.

Revelation of the facts behind the "educational dark age" in Philadelphia during 1917-1918 when retrenchment was in full power in the school system because of the huge drain put upon the national resources by the Federal Government jolted many delegates at a crowded afternoon session.

With Miss Robenia Anthony presiding, the meeting heard talks by Dr. Robert Speer, of New York University; Martin Rugg, who told the story behind the Philadelphia retrenchment during the first world war; and George Faxon, president of Local 441, who discussed Boston's retrenchment struggle.

Samuel Greenfield, Local 5, told the delegates of some of the methods used by corporations to dodge the tax laws. He said that such evasions amount to more than \$200,000,000 per year.

"There is little need to spend time making a vitriolic speech against Fascism," he said, "for we all agree in opposing it. And yet we cannot stamp out Fascism, namely the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few who aggravate the matter by their tax-dodging."

Council Authorizes \$400 Contributions

Contributions to regional labor schools and others amounting to \$400 were authorized by the Executive Council at the Convention. The organizations and the AFT contributions they will receive are:

American Labor and Education Service, \$100.
Southern Summer School for Workers, \$100.
Highlander Folk School, \$100.
National Religion and Labor Foundation, \$50.
League for Industrial Democracy, \$50.

The AMERICAN TEACHER

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6

No. 1

Convention Condemns All Dictatorships

The two most important resolutions passed by the AFT Convention were "A Resolution for a Unanimous Declaration for Democracy and an Unequivocal Repudiation of Totalitarian Tendencies," introduced by Local 280, New Rochelle, N. Y., and "A Resolution on the Present Emergency in Education" introduced into the Convention by the Executive Council after being passed by them unanimously.

The first resolution stating that "we unequivocally condemn and utterly oppose all dictatorships, whether of Nazi, Fascist or Communist origin, whether in Germany, Italy or Russia," is published in full on page 2, and the resolution dealing with the emergency in education which calls for the appointment of a special committee by the Executive Council to meet the problem is published on page 5.

Axtelle Heads Committee

Appointed by the Executive Council to this Emergency Committee were George E. Axtelle, chairman, S. Amelia Yeager (Madison) and Ruth Wanger (Philadelphia). The committee is instructed by the resolution to consider "the effects of war and the threats of war upon public education, upon civil liberties and upon our national welfare, (a) With constant vigilance for national safety, (b) With necessary safeguards against any form of totalitarianism, foreign or domestic, (c) With due regard for the future welfare and advancement of human rights in a responsible and free commonwealth."

Chairman Axtelle called a special meeting of the Committee on September 14 and may present a statement on this meeting in the October issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER.

Counts Re-elected for Second Term**New Executive Council Plans Organizational Drive**

For the second consecutive year delegates to the American Federation of Teachers Convention chose Dr. George S. Counts, Teachers College, Columbia University, and member of Local 537, to head the AFT. Defeated in the election were nine members of the 1930-40 Executive Council. President Counts won over Dr. John J. DeBoer, Local 1.

Election Results

	No. of Votes
PRESIDENT	
George S. Counts (537)	408
John J. DeBoer (1)	238
VICE PRESIDENTS	
Northwest Area:	
Lila A. Hunter (200)	397
Robert Iglehart (401)	256
Southwest Area:	
Ruth Dodds (31)	384
Gertrude Luehning (442)	361
Wisconsin, Minnesota Area:	
S. Amelia Yeager (35)	621
Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma Area:	
Paul Preisler (420)	378
John Woodruff (462)	266
Michigan Area:	
Arthur Elder (501)	588
Illinois-Indiana Area:	
Mildred Berleman (1)	571
Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi Area:	
Stanton Smith (246)	553
Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia Area:	
Ray Abercrombie (179)	267
Michael J. Eck (279)	379
New England Area:	
Robenia Anthony (184)	258
John D. Connors (263)	388
New York Area:	
Charles J. Hendley (5)	268
Jane Souba (230)	378
Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware Area:	
Mary Foley Grossman (192)	250
Ruth Wanger (192)	395
Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia Area:	
Charles M. Etheredge (422)	493
College Section:	
George E. Axtelle (635)	572
W.P.A., Adult Education Section:	
Ned H. Dearborn (537)	254
Mark Starr (189)	393
At Large:	
Layle Lane (5)	375
Dorsey Wilkerson (440)	273

Setting an all-time-high for attendance at AFT conventions, approximately 500 delegates participated in the work of the Convention. Overcoming a confusion caused by changing the Convention headquarters from the Hotel Statler to the Hotel Buffalo, delegates turned immediately to business on Monday, August 19. Convention sessions, committee meetings and caucuses left little time for sleep.

Elected to the Council for the first time were Ruth Dodds, Sac-

Haynes, Podemski "Shoot" Convention

All photographs of the AFT convention which appear in this issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER were taken by George Podemski, member of Local 1, Chicago, and Leon Haynes, member of Local 377, Buffalo. These men donated their services and were paid only for the expenses.

ramento, Cal.; Mildred Berleman, Chicago; Jane Souba, New Rochelle, N. Y.; Layle Lane, New York City; Mark Starr, New York City; and Ruth Wanger, Philadelphia, Pa. Former members of the Council returned this year were Lila Hunter, Seattle; Paul Preisler, St. Louis; Michael Eck, Cleveland; and John Connors, New Bedford, Mass. Re-elected to the Council were Stanton Smith, Chattanooga; George Axtelle, Evanston, Ill.; S. Amelia Yeager, Madison; Arthur Elder, Detroit; and Charles Etheredge, Augusta, Ga.

Leading guest speakers at the Convention were President William Green, American Federation of Labor; Thomas J. Lyons, president of the New York State Federation of Labor; William Gellermann, Northwestern University; G. L. Maxwell, NEA Policies Committee; and Lynn Emerson, Cornell University.

The new Council in a two day session after the convention planned an organizing drive to help meet the threats against educational budgets.

Many delegates to the Convention signed the two programs on which the various candidates ran. "The Statement of Principles" which President Counts and many of the victorious vice presidents supported is published in full as is the statement of the "Educational Defense Program" on which Dr. DeBoer and many of the defeated vice presidents ran.

(Continued on page 2).

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BOAS, VOORHIS SEND GREETINGS TO AFT

Candidates Review 1940 Platforms

(Continued from page 1)

"A Statement of Principles"

The American Federation of Teachers is entering upon its twenty-fourth annual Convention. The Union has a record of many fine accomplishments and has adhered to a forward looking program throughout its history. However, in recent years there have appeared within our organization certain influences which have obstructed our progress and growth and which threaten the very life of the Union.

Many delegates who are attending this convention for the first time, and some who have attended previous conventions, desire an understanding of the basic issues which confront us. So that the issues may be plain and the delegates have clearly before them our stand on the questions arising from new world developments and on the central question within our own organization, we desire to state our position on these questions.

First: The European war and developments in the Far East have produced a threat to our national safety. We stand, therefore, for an adequate program of national defense with which we can preserve and extend our democratic institutions.

(a) In the defense program we are opposed to any move to destroy or curtail the labor standards which have been achieved by the unions through their economic strength or through legislation. These must be safeguarded and advanced.

(b) Labor must be given adequate representation and recognition in whatever defense plans the Congress may formulate.

(c) The unemployed must be returned to jobs and the productive capacity of the nation released from the shackles that bind it.

(d) Social security laws must be preserved and extended.

(e) Educational standards and services must be protected and expanded; the tenure and academic freedom of teachers defended.

(f) There must be no abrogation of the civil liberties of any person regardless of race, religion, creed, or political belief.

All of these are integral factors in adequate defense and are essential to the preservation and upbuilding of the morale of the people of the nation.

Second: We are opposed to totalitarian ideologies which negate the fundamental concepts of democracy and we condemn the wars of aggression for imperialist ends by the totalitarian nations be they Fascist, Nazi, or Communist. These are destructive of the idea of a society of free men for which we stand, proudly and with a determination to defend.

Third: In relation to our own Union, we stand unequivocally for the right of any citizen, including members of the American Federation of Teachers, to hold any view on political and social questions and to membership in any legal political party, but we strongly condemn and oppose any attempt at manipulation of the American Federation of Teachers, or its program or policies, by a Communist group or any other group whose activities in the Union are directed primarily toward furthering the ends of agencies, foreign or domestic, external to the Union and its policies.

We stand for election of an Executive Council whose loyalty to

(Continued on page 4)

On Totalitarianism

The following resolution condemning "all dictatorships, whether of Nazi, Fascist or Communist origin, whether in Germany, Italy or Russia," was passed at the AFT Convention in Buffalo.

"WHEREAS, Recent world events have brought into sharper focus than ever before the dangers inherent in the policies and practices of totalitarianism and the benefits and blessings of democracy; and "WHEREAS, The constitution of the American Federation of Teachers states that 'we believe in democracy'; and

"WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers wishes to be more definite, both in advocating the democratic way and in unequivocally opposing totalitarianism and all totalitarian tendencies and groups at home and abroad;

"Be It Resolved, That We Reaffirm and Support as the objects and foundation of democratic government

"1. The continuation for all people of 'certain inalienable rights with which they are endowed—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness';

"2. The principle and practice that governments derive 'their just powers from the consent of the governed';

"3. Freedom of the press and radio, freedom of speech to all people, and freedom of public assembly;

"4. The civil liberties guaranteed to individuals by our government and the extension of such liberties;

"5. Free trade unions;

"6. A multiple party system whereby the wishes of the people are expressed and carried into action;

"And That We Unequivocally Condemn and Utterly Oppose Any government abroad or any group in our midst which practices or advocates

"1. The denial of 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' to all people;

"2. Dictatorship and a condition of life wherein the individual subject to the will of the state or the dictator thereof without recourse to law;

"3. Government controlled and dictated press and radio, and the denial of free speech and free public assembly;

"4. The repudiation and denial of civil liberties, and refusal to hold fair trials, the use of violence, secret police, bureaus of propaganda, concentration camps and firing squads;

"5. The suppression or extermination of free trade unions;

"6. One-party rule where the people do not have free choice, but while forced to vote, are given opportunity to vote but for one side, party, etc;

"Be It Further Resolved, That we support 'government of the people, by the people, and for the people,' and will work that such government, 'shall not perish from the earth' while we unequivocally condemn and utterly oppose all dictatorships, whether of Nazi, Fascist or Communist origin, whether in Germany, Italy or Russia, and the transplanting or practice of their ideas and their methods within the confines of our country or our profession; and

"Be It Further Resolved, That these resolutions be given wide and immediate publicity."

Ten Retiring Vice Presidents Serve Total of 24 Years

Borchardt New Legislative Head

Selma Borchardt, Local No. 8, Washington, D. C., was elected Legislative Representative for the AFT by a unanimous vote of the Executive Council. It was suggested by the Council that Miss Borchardt should have assistants who would be trained to assist in legislative work. This action was also approved.

Greetings to Union

Among the greetings to the American Federation of Teachers Convention were those from A. T. A. Bricker, general president of the United Garment Workers of America; Rev. Owen A. Knox, chairman, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; United Office and Professional Workers of America; the Workers Defense League and the National Union of Teachers of England.

Dispute Causes Hotel Change

Although the AFT Convention was scheduled to be held at the Hotel Statler in Buffalo, it was changed, at the last minute, to the Hotel Buffalo. The Central Labor Union of Buffalo and vi-

Twenty-four years of service to the AFT is represented by the ten retiring national vice presidents. Veterans in Council work are Mary Foley Grossman, Philadelphia, Mary Herrick, Chicago, and Charles Hendley, New York, who served five consecutive years apiece. Next in line is Doxey Wilkerson, Howard University, who served three years.

Serving one year on the Council were Ray Abercrombie, Ohio; Robenia Anthony, Massachusetts; Ned Dearborn, New York; Robert Iglehart, Washington; Gertrude Luehning, California, and John Woodruff, Texas.

Mary Herrick has been chairman of the Editorial Board of the AMERICAN TEACHER for the last two years and chairman of the Personnel Committee during the last year. Mrs. Grossman served as national legislative representative until January, 1940. Doxey Wilkerson was chairman of the committee to draw up a report on the AFL and CIO. Miss Anthony was chairman of the Convention Committee this year, a capacity filled by Charles Hendley last year.

city placed the hotel on the unfair list because of a dispute between the building trades and the owners of the Hotel Statler. A letter from the CLU, thanking the AFT for its co-operation, appears elsewhere in this issue.

See Important Role of AFT in Education

Among the many greetings to the 500 delegates to the 1940 American Federation of Teachers Convention came two from prominent members of the Union: Representative Jerry Voorhis, U. S. Congressman from California, a member at large, and Dr. Franz Boas, celebrated anthropologist, and a member of Local 537, New York College Teachers Union.

The statements in full follow:

Franz Boas

To my regret I cannot attend the coming convention of the American Federation of Teachers, but I wish to send you my greetings.

The present difficult times endanger the welfare of all organizations that do not strictly confine their activities and discussions to their own field. The sharp political conflicts of our days have been a hindrance to the useful activities of many organizations, because unnecessarily irrelevant and acrimonious political conflicts have interfered with attention directed to the actual field of work. The more deeply the political problems of the day interfere with our peaceful life, the more difficult it is to avoid emotional reactions that interfere with reasonable judgment.

Just at present the problem of national defense and the possibility of an extension of the war create conditions that endanger the well-being of the schools. General conscription would disorganize the schools, not only by withdrawing male teachers, and careful attention should be given so as to protect the schools against a breakdown such as happened in previous wars. Many problems will have to be considered, weighing those eventualities over which the American Federation of Teachers has no control, but in regard to which a definite policy has to be adopted. It will be the difficult task of your convention to consider these problems, the solution of which will require an atmosphere dominated by a sense of the importance of avoiding a break in the education of our youth to clear and independent thinking and to a consciousness of their obligations to society.

FRANZ BOAS,
Columbia University,
August 10, 1940.

Jerry Voorhis

I regret that my duties at the Capitol at this time prevent my attendance at American Federation of Teachers Convention. Please extend my greetings to the delegates as a member of their organization and as one of their spokesmen in Congress.

I am deeply appreciative of the tremendously important role which the American Federation of Teachers can play today because it is an integral part of the American Federation of Labor and because through its parent organization, as well as in its own locals, it can so richly contribute to making its slogan "Education for Democracy and Democracy in Education" a living fact.

I hope that I may through the American Federation of Teachers continue to do my part in the struggle to preserve our democratic institutions and to fight all forms of totalitarianism be they Nazi, Communist or Fascist. I shall continue to work in Congress for adequate Federal aid for our schools and for all phases of schooling upon which the true social growth and development of our nation depends.

Fraternally yours,
JERRY VOORHIS.

Change of Address

I am a member in good standing of Local of AFT. Please change my address on your records to (please print):

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City
State

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affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Write for More Information

NOW

Please send me more information about the American Federation of Teachers. (All inquiries confidential.)

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Address..... State.....

Mail to Irwin R. Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers, 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

AFT Leaders in Action at the 1940 Convention



Three action shots from the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Teachers: left, Dr. Bella Dodd, legislative representative of the New York State Federation of Teachers, confers with Robert English, Local 1,

who served as parliamentarian at the Convention; center photo, Dr. George S. Counts and Dr. John J. DeBoer, rival candidates for the national presidency, about to cast their ballots; right photo, Arnold Shukotoff, former

chairman of the National Academic Freedom Committee, has just introduced W. D. Boyd, president of AFT Local 516, who was elected superintendent of schools of Jacksonville, Fla., last May.

Problems Beset Youth, AFT Discussion Shows

Educational, vocational and social problems faced by modern youth were discussed in a full afternoon session of the Convention when several noted teachers engaged in a panel on "Relationship Between the School and Society."

Those participating in the program were Dr. William Gellerman of Northwestern university who spoke on "Social Trends Conditioning the Education of Youth"; Dr. Lynn A. Emerson, Cornell university, who talked on "Training Youth to Make a Living"; John Woodruff, formerly AFT vice-president and now assistant to the supervisor of Adult Vocational Education in Texas, whose subject was "Training Youth for Leisure"; and Professor G. L. Maxwell, of the research staff of the Educational Policies Committee of the NEA, who gave his views on "Training Youth for Citizenship."

The heart of the present youth problem, with its unemployment, lack of skill and indirection, is the outgrowth of a maladjusted economic machine, Dr. Gellerman said. He pointed out that the youth are the most exploited group in the country because they lack the political power to make their needs felt.

Criticizing the over-emphasis on vocational education, Dr. Gellerman said the educational system has been shaped to teach students to work solely for the external reward in which a cash value is placed on good work without sufficient interest in doing work which has a social motivation.

Dr. Emerson defended the vocational training idea when he revealed that the rapid technological changes have made it imperative that schools and youth keep up with new methods. He asserted that specialization along certain trade lines does not have ill-effect on personality and training by showing that personnel stand-

Four to Attend AFL Convention

The American Federation of Teachers will be represented at the coming AFL Convention at New Orleans by President George S. Counts, Secretary Irvin R. Kuenzli, John Fewkes, president of Local 1, and Selma Borchardt, AFT Legislative Representative and a member of Local 8. The Executive Council went on record, with Paul Preisler, St. Louis, making the motion, that the delegates-elect present a unified position before the AFL on any matters relating to the AFT.

ards in certain fields were rising. More complex relationships within industry itself were responsible, he said. "We need a closer contact in our schools with our work life, and we need more attention to the integration of the industrial arts."

The introduction of labor-saving machinery and the consequent increase in leisure time was declared by Mr. Woodruff to be the basis for the real need for youth training in the intelligent and constructive use of leisure time. He urged that the schools continue to teach the so-called "frills," which, he said, were essential in the modern scheme of life.

Dr. Maxwell sounded a keynote of the Convention when he declared in his talk on "Training Youth for Citizenship" that de-

Schools, Labor Must Maintain Rights—Lyons

Pointing out that the welfare of the public school system and progress of the labor movement are tied together, Thomas J. Lyons, president of the New York State American Federation of Labor, told the AFT Convention that "the public school, itself a creature of that democracy, should not neglect the long struggle of the working people to gain power, status and opportunity, and children everywhere should study that struggle as part of the struggle for democracy."

He also cited the attacks made on the New York Federation of Teachers and the school system in the recent retrenchment drive by the New York State Economic Council, which, he charged, represent the corporations of the state.

mocracy functions best in a community when the schools are operated democratically, that effective citizenship-education leads to strong leadership. He referred to some of the findings which will appear in a report of an intensive investigation, "Learning the Ways of Democracy," soon to be published in book form.

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Mayor, President of Buffalo CLU Greet Teachers

Anthony J. Bernard, chairman of the local Convention committee, Buffalo, presided over the opening session of the AFT Convention which was addressed by Mayor Thomas Holling of the City of Buffalo and Norbert Berger, president of the Federation of Labor of Buffalo and vicinity.

After the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner," the invocation was given by Reverend Broughton. Mr. Bernard read a letter from Father John P. Boland, chairman

of the New York State Labor Relations Board regretting his inability to accept an invitation to address the Convention.

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This issue also features a cover from a Lynd Ward woodcut and statements on the "Problem of Federal Aid" by Charles H. Thompson, Floyd W. Reeves, Carleton Washburne, Willard E. Givens, Spencer Miller, Jr., Donald DuShane, Donk S. Campbell, Max Lerner and John Dale Russell.

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Candidates Review 1940 Platforms

(Continued from page 2)

American democratic principles and to the American Federation of Teachers comes before every other consideration.

In conclusion we would like to say that the above statement of principles is not intended to be all inclusive. We are in agreement with the educational policies of the American Federation of Teachers on tenure, salaries, retirement, academic freedom, federal aid, equalization of educational opportunity, adult education, and vocational education. We have tried only to deal in general terms with two issues arising out of the world crisis and with the fundamental issue which the American Federation of Teachers must resolve if it is to continue to grow and to defend and advance American education and American democracy.

Educational Defense Program

The hope of democracy in our times lies in candor and forthrightness. We hereby state our principles with emphasis in the conviction that only in this way can we rally the forces of progress.

Public education for more than a century has been basic to the American way of life: the foundation of a democratic society. However, organized opposition to the free public schools has increased during the last few years. This opposition is directed by powerful minority groups. The most sinister aspect of this development lies in the fact that leadership of this opposition is in the hands of selfish interests. The extension of education and the advance of democracy are necessary corollaries. We, therefore, as teachers address ourselves to the defense and extension of our American school system in the certainty that in this way can we contribute most to the defense of democracy and our great tradition of freedom.

We propose the following program:

- (1) Continuous expansion of our educational facilities.
- (2) Equalization of educational opportunity for all children by means of federal aid and increased state aid.
- (3) Defense of the public schools against the unwarranted criticism of education which is laid as a basis for retrenchment in education.
- (4) Democratic organization and administration of our schools.
- (5) The establishment of a comprehensive program of child welfare, including free dental, health and psychiatric services.
- (6) A sound system of progressive taxation based upon ability to pay.
- (7) Strengthening our system of vocational education along sound educational lines with safeguards against the exploitation of this field for the mere training of a cheap labor supply.
- (8) Complete separation of the church and the state which has so fostered religious freedom and tolerance.
- (9) Keeping militarism out of the schools in time of war and preparation of war as well as in times of peace.
- (10) Revision of curricula

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New AFT Standing Committees

With the extension of committee work in the American Federation of Teachers one of the primary aims of the recent convention, fifteen standing committees and their chairmen were named to carry forward that work for the coming year. Each committee will be headed by a chairman

aided by a council adviser. Core committees, centered in the chairman's area, will also be set up to follow through on details and to correspond with other members throughout the country.

The committees, their chairmen and council advisers are:

NAME OF COMMITTEE	CHAIRMAN	ADDRESS	COUNCIL ADVISER
National Educational Policies	Miss Lillian Herstein, No. 1	5429 S. Greenwood, Chicago.	George Axtelle
Tenure	Miss Flora Philley, No. 4	411 W. 18th St., Gary, Ind.	S. Amelia Yeager
Education by Radio	Mr. Hadley Cantril, No. 552	Eno Hall, Princeton, N. J.	Stanton Smith
Insurance and Credit Unions	Mr. Maurice Crew, No. 1	618 N. Ridgeland Ave., Oak Park, Ill.	Lila Hunter
Pensions and Retirement	Miss Florence Rood, No. 28	372 St. Peter St., St. Paul, Minn.	Ruth Dodds
Academic Freedom	Miss Alice Hanson, No. 192	Moylan, Pa.	Ruth Wanger
Public Relations and Publicity	Miss Hazel Murray, No. 279	8015 Decker Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.	Michael Eck
State Federations	Mr. E. Glenn Baxter, No. 334	336 12th St., Elyria, Ohio.	Arthur Elder
Vocational Education	Mr. Sam Barth, No. 1	501 Surf St., Chicago, Ill.	Paul Preisler
Social and Economic Trends	Miss Frances Com-fort, No. 231	1604 Burlingame, Detroit, Mich.	Layle Lane
Taxation and School Finance	Mr. Sam'l Greenfield, No. 5	882 E. 10th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.	Jane Souba
Clerks' Interest	Mrs. Winifred Higgins, No. 224	1418 Berwyn Ave., Chicago, Ill.	Mildred Berleman
Working Conditions	Mr. Roy Davis, No. 89	648 Peoples St., S. W., Atlanta, Ga.	Charles Etheredge
Workers' Education and W.P.A. and Adult Education	Miss Eleanor Colt, No. 5	129 E. 10th St., New York City.	Mark Starr and John D. Connors

Thanks from Buffalo Labor

Dear Sir and Brother:

Would you be kind enough to express our sincere appreciation to your membership for selecting Buffalo for your Convention City again this year, and for moving your Convention headquarters from the Statler Hotel. We are sure that it was expensive and no end of trouble to move your Convention headquarters on such short notice, and we want you and your membership to know that we are deeply grateful.

More words are inadequate to express our thankfulness, but this true expression of unionism that your organization has displayed will always be remembered by the Federation of Labor of Buffalo and vicinity.

Sincerely and Fraternally yours,

Federation of Labor of Buffalo and Vicinity
George Sturges, Secretary

on sound educational principles of all youth or student groups to rather than for ulterior propaganda purposes.

(11) Militant defense of teachers' rights to adequate salaries, to tenure and to fair conditions of work.

(12) Improvement in the public relations of our profession by means of co-operation with civic and labor groups.

(13) Joint co-operation with labor in defense of our common right to organize and bargain collectively.

(14) Recognition of the right to organize and give free expression

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to their problems and opinions as recommended by the American Youth Commission.

(15) Recognition of the rights, under the Constitution, of racial, religious and political minorities.

(16) Vigorous defense of civil liberties and academic freedom in this period of widespread hysteria.

These positive convictions place us in sharp opposition to all forms of totalitarianism. At a time when war abroad is used as a pretext for attacks upon democracy at home, we reaffirm our basis for organizational existence. We will allow no manufactured hysteria to divert us from these faiths.

We support without question measures designed to adequately defend our shores against any aggression, but we join the great mass of our people who oppose altogether any involvement in the present European conflict. We cannot defend freedom by regimentation, nor democracy by militarism. We oppose peace time conscription and all measures designed to curtail and disrupt our civil procedure and to divert attention from glaring social and economic problems. We oppose a national economy based and dependent upon military expansion. We point to the warring nations of Europe as examples of the futility of attempting to achieve peace or security through armaments

Maurer Shows Federal Aid Film

One of the highlights of the AFT Convention was the showing of a sound film strip, "Federal Aid to Education," by Dr. Wesley Maurer, University of Michigan and president of the Michigan State Federation of Teachers. The film which Dr. Maurer made in co-operation with the AFT will be ready for use by locals this fall. Plans are being worked out so that it may be possible for a local to receive the film, record and projection machine by mail and return it to the national office after the showing.

The film was shown both to the Convention and a special session of the Executive Council.

rather than through domestic reform.

We oppose vigorously a defense policy which demands great sacrifices from men, but which at the same time yields great profits for property. We believe that teachers must resist every attempt to utilize the educational system as an agent of military propaganda and we believe that we have no higher obligation to our people than to teach the truth as we see it.

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- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Information about the A. F. T. 35c per hundred | 12. A Golden Opportunity (Irvin R. Kuenzli) \$2.00 per hundred |
| 2. Six Major Purposes 25c per hundred | 13. Facts \$1.50 per hundred |
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| 8. The Constitution of the A. F. T. (Correct as of Oct., 1939) \$2.00 per hundred | 19. Address by George S. Counts (A. F. of L. Convention 1939) 50c per hundred |
| 9. A Program of Action for Classroom Teachers \$2.00 per hundred | 20. Why I Belong to A. F. T. (By Counts, Voorhis, Douglas and Baker) 25c per hundred |
| 10. A Critical Evaluation of the A. F. T. (Aileen W. Robinson) 50c per copy | 21. A Challenge to Classroom Teachers (Desk Blotter) 25c per hundred |
| 11. Teachers Should Organize (Frank Baker) \$2.00 per hundred | |

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Folded copies of back issues of the AMERICAN TEACHER are available and will be sent free to locals requesting them. These are copies which have been returned through the mail.

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Report by College Section Outlines '40-'41 Objectives

With a large group in attendance, the College Section of the AFT discussed some of the problems facing college teachers. The session was held preliminary to the recent AFT Convention.

Among those who submitted major reports were Alban Winspear, chairman of the Organizing Committee; Mrs. Helen Lewis; David C. Williams, chairman of the Midwest Subcommittee of the organization committee; George T. Guernsey, director of the summer session program and Arnold Shukotoff, chairman of the National Academic Freedom Committee.

Watson Reports

Goodwin Watson, chairman of a special committee appointed by the College Section, presented a report, "Objectives for 1940-41 Proposed by the College Section," which was later presented to the Executive Council.

The report follows:

During this coming year, deepening concern over the war may tend to aggravate old problems, to introduce new difficulties, and to distract us from our central tasks as a union of workers in education.

We recommend that the organizational program of college teachers during the coming year should take account of the following demands:

1. Vigorous defense of civil liberties and academic freedom in a period of widespread hysteria.

2. Support of organized labor against attempts to use the sense of "national emergency" in order to repress and to cripple labor unions.

3. Development of the implications of democracy. We want to defend democracy, but the best defense will be an actual extension of democratic ways of living in areas of our society which have not functioned democratically. We warn particularly against attacks that are increasingly being made upon democracy in the name of democracy. It is the special function of teachers to prevent victimization of the public through the misuse of abstract terms.

Maintain Professional Standards

4. Emphasis upon maintaining standards in technical fields, and support of the continuing values in liberal education. "No moratorium on culture!"

5. War hysteria has prompted suggestions that college curricula must be adapted to defense needs. While industrial and other lay leaders may be qualified to recommend needed changes, particularly in technical fields, it should be thoroughly understood that curricular changes in the professional offerings of the colleges should be

the province of the professional staff of the colleges themselves.

6. Attention to the problem of continuing the financial support of education. Attempts must be anticipated to cut educational budgets in order to save money for defense. We must maintain that full opportunities for youth represent our first line of defense. Further we must act to prevent the placing of increasing tax burdens on low-income groups.

7. We face now the threat of conscription, which would be likely, if enacted, sharply to reduce college enrollment, to curtail drastically the work of the graduate schools, and to cause insecurity for teachers who might be considered "dispensable." The protection of educational opportunity and of teacher rights in this case will become even more urgent.

Situation Offers Opportunity

8. This situation, fraught with peril as it is, presents us nevertheless with unusual opportunity. All these attacks, retrenchments, and declining enrollments increase individual insecurity. This is our opportunity to drive home the point that security can be achieved only through organized action.

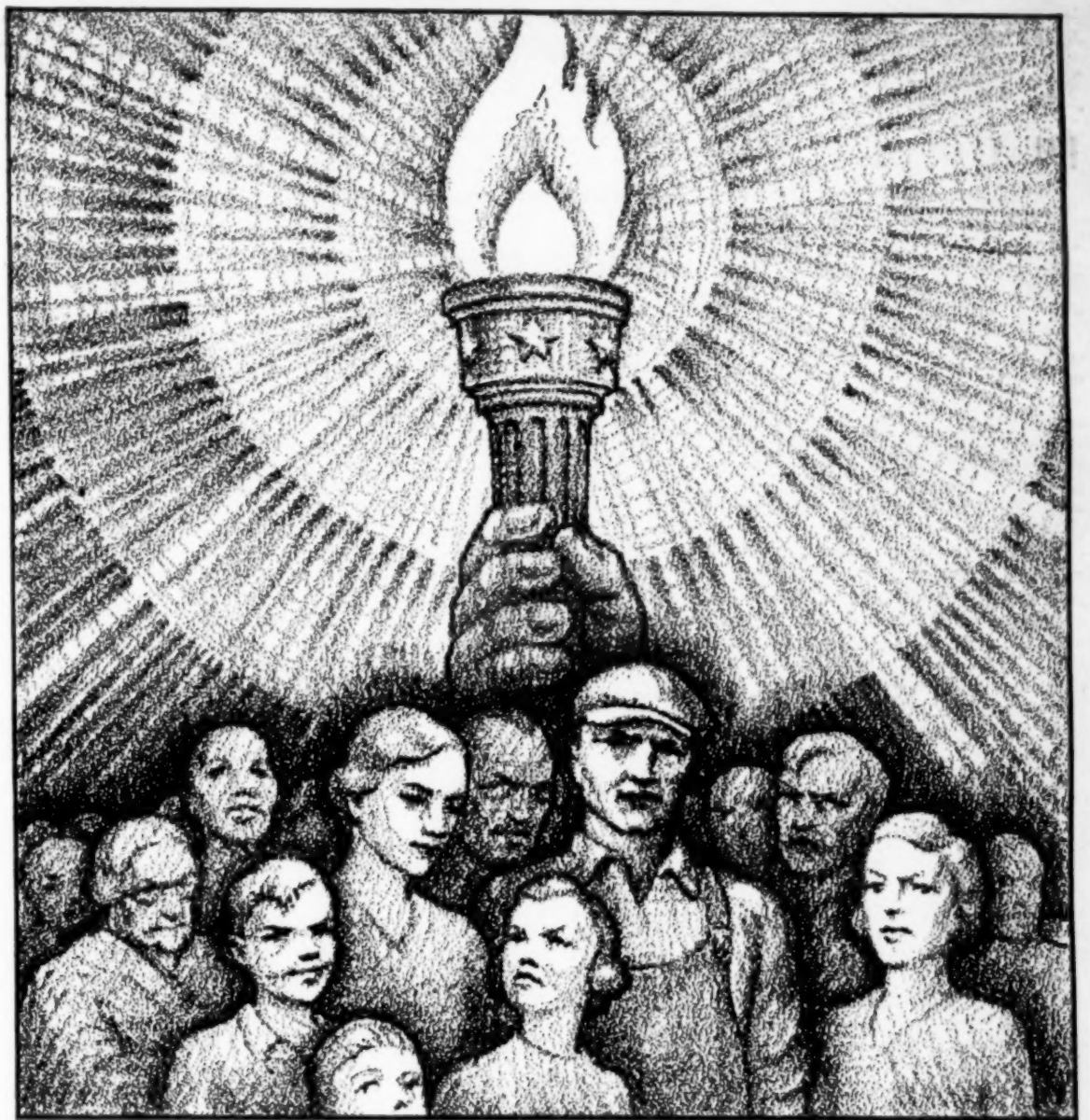
9. Finally, the probability that our union activities will be resisted and misrepresented by opposing forces, places on us a special obligation for education of the public. Through bulletins, forums, and in many other ways, the entire teaching force in our schools and public opinion in our communities, must be brought to understand our objectives and to participate in our efforts.

Local 5 Awarded Legislative Prize for Budget Fight

Local 5, New York City, was awarded the Dr. Ross Thalheimer prize of \$25 at the AFT Convention for its organization work in combatting New York State's retrenchment drive. Dr. Thalheimer, former national legislative representative, offered the annual award to the AFT local doing outstanding work in the legislative field.

The selection of Local 5 was made because of: the mass and variety of material distributed; numbers participating; intensity of campaign; general excellence of material published; prestige gained despite a strenuous opposition; delegation petitions; radio publicity delegations; lobbying and financing.

Other Locals considered for the award were: Philadelphia; Springfield, Ill.; Kenosha, Wis.; Chattanooga, Tenn.; and Paterson, N. J.



Public Schools Bulwark of Democracy in National Crisis, Says AFT Resolution

The following resolution passed unanimously by the Convention is to be the basis for the work of a special committee appointed by the new Executive Council. Members of the committee are George E. Axtelle, chairman, S. Amelia Yeager and Ruth Wanger.

"WHEREAS, Public education as a primary social agency faces the most grave and complicated situation since its inception; and

"WHEREAS, Public education is the front line defense of American democracy, both in terms of our national solidarity and of democratic society; and

"WHEREAS, American public education has before it the great task of training citizens for democracy; and

"WHEREAS, American public education is being attacked in the name of economy, religion, morals and patriotism—each of which is as sacred to teachers as to all other loyal Americans—by forces in our society who fear an enlightened public; and

"WHEREAS, Necessary public services have been established and extended in recent years, socially justifiable and requiring public financial support; and

"WHEREAS, Economic insecurity and the threat of war with their attendant hysterias endanger the stability and expansion of our American system of free public education;

Be It Therefore Resolved: That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers recommends to this Convention:

1. That immediate and vigorous action be taken to expand the facilities of public education and to protect it against any and all forces destructive to its welfare so that:

(a) American youth may be guaranteed increasing educational opportunities for training in citizenship, skills and culture.

(b) American teachers may continue their fundamental work of training citizens for democracy through an expanded program and that American teachers may play a constructive role during this period by building sound judgment, intelligent loyalties and devotion to the principles and practices of an expanding democracy and thereby promote the democratic morale of the American people in this time of national crisis.

(c) American democracy may persist and thrive in providing for a truly free people those traditional human rights and liberties, of which we are so justly proud.

(d) American national defense may relate itself appropriately to the survival of a free

society whatever the exigencies of the present situation may require and that it may not be used against the welfare of public education. (e) American labor, including the American Federation of Teachers, may continue to prosper as a constructive and integral part of our social structure.

To this end, be it further recommended:

1. That this Convention direct the Executive Council to appoint or designate a committee to develop a detailed plan subject to the approval of the Executive Council and to administer it under the supervision of the Executive Council for the purpose of:

(a) Meeting the needs of the present crisis in our culture through expanding the facilities for the training of our people as citizens in a democracy and repelling any attacks against our fundamental democratic structure.

(b) Insuring that any vocational education program be so organized that it will promote education in democracy and culture as well as vocational skills; that no program of vocational education ignore the fundamental principles established by labor for such training; and that such a program be under the control of leaders of education and labor.

(c) Affecting a basis for co-ordinating our work in the American Federation of Teachers with all educational and other essential social agencies thus affecting a unity of purpose among the progressive forces of the country.

(d) Establishing a positive position which will strengthen the spirit of democracy among our people and place the American teacher in a role of leadership in preparing citizens for a democracy.

2. That this Committee consult with and use the resources of the Educational Policies Committee, the Committee on Vocational Education, the Committee on Academic Freedom and any other resources of our organization.

3. That the Committee help inform the teachers and, through them, the public by means of pamphlets, bibliographies, bulletins, articles, films and radio.

Be It Further Recommended:

1. That the Committee be urged to consider the effects of war and the threats of war upon public education, upon civil liberties and upon our national welfare.

(a) With constant vigilance for national safety.

(b) With necessary safeguards against any form of totalitarianism, foreign or domestic.

(c) With due regard for the future welfare and advancement of human rights in a responsible and free commonwealth."

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No. 1

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Here They Are-'40-'41 Executive Council

RUTH WANGER

Vice president from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware . . . member of executive board, Local 192, for two terms as well as other committee work. . . Miss Wanger has her A.B. from Vassar and her M.A. from the University of Pennsylvania and has also done graduate work at Columbia . . . has been a teacher of history, then served as head of the department of social studies and is now principal of the South Philadelphia High School for Girls.

MICHAEL J. ECK

Vice president from Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia . . . was one of the organizers of Local 279 and has been vice president and president of the local . . . executive secretary and legislative representative, Ohio Federation of Teachers, 1937-40 . . . has been a member of the Cleveland Typographical Union for twenty-two years. . . Received his B.S. in Education from Western Reserve and LL.B. from Lake Erie Law School . . . licensed to practice law in Ohio . . . was a printing instructor in the Cleveland schools from 1923-39 and has been assistant supervisor of printing since 1939 in the Cleveland schools.

RUTH DODDS

Vice president from Southwest Area, West Coast . . . AFT member since 1932 and member of executive committee since 1936 . . . president Local 31, 1939-41 . . . chairman of sabbatical leave committee which succeeded in obtaining sabbatical leaves for Sacramento teachers. . . Received A.B. and M.A. from the University of California . . . has done graduate work at Columbia, Stanford, the College of the Pacific, U.C.L.A. . . member of the Stanford Language Arts Investigation and the California Curriculum Committee on Developmental Reading . . . now chairman of English and Orientation Departments, McClatchy Senior High in Sacramento, California.

CHARLES M. ETHEREDGE

Vice president from Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia . . . president of Local 422 for the past three years . . . served as secretary and is now chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Augusta Central Labor Union . . . beginning second year as vice president of this area. . . Received his A.B. from Newberry College and did graduate work at the

University of South Carolina . . . served as principal of three rural schools and for the past thirteen years has taught mathematics at The Academy of Richmond County in Augusta . . . is also athletic director there.

JANE SOUBA

Vice president for the New York Area . . . has carried a Teachers Union card for twenty years . . . charter member and member of the executive committee of Local 59 . . . charter member and president of Local 280 . . . has been a writer of a weekly column on education for the *Minnesota Daily Star* and editor of the *Federation News* in Minneapolis . . . delegate from Local 59 to Minnesota State Federation of Labor. . . B.A. from Carleton College and M.A. from Teachers College . . . summer sessions at the Universities of Vienna and Prague . . . has been a teacher and principal in small towns in Minnesota and a teacher in the junior and senior high schools in New Rochelle, New York.

S. AMELIA YEAGER

Vice president from Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska . . . vice president AFT and member of the Editorial Board of the *AMERICAN TEACHER* 1939-40 . . . has been secretary-treasurer and president of Local 35 and president of the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers . . . served ten years as delegate from Local 35 to the Madison Federation of Labor. . . B.A. from University of Wisconsin . . . Phi Beta Kappa . . . taught Latin in Decorah, Iowa, and Riverside High School, Milwaukee, Wis. . . now teaching Latin and Ancient History in Central High School, Madison, Wis.

ARTHUR ELDER

Vice president from the Michigan area . . . National Convention Committee . . . formerly president of the Michigan Federation of Teachers and now its executive secretary . . . delegate to the Michigan Federation of Labor Convention, 1937-40 . . . promoted the Michigan tenure law, lobbied on tenure legislation in 1937 and did more to get it through than anyone else . . . Mr. Elder is at present teaching in the Detroit schools.

MILDRED BERLEMAN

Vice president from the Illinois-Indiana Area . . . secretary, regional vice president and vice

President



George S. Counts

president of old Local 3 . . . member and secretary of the Board of Directors of the Chicago Union Teachers Credit Union . . . secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Teachers . . . has been a delegate to the Illinois State Federation of Labor Conventions eight times. . . Received her Ph.B. from Chicago and did graduate work there . . . Phi Beta Kappa . . . has taught high school for twenty-two years in Illinois of which seventeen years have been in Chicago.

MARK STARR

WPA vice president . . . educational director, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union . . . president, Local 189 . . . chairman of the advisory board of the national WPA Workers' Service Program and member of the Advisory Council of the WPA Profession and Service Projects . . . author of pamphlets, "Education: Why and for Whom?" "Training for Union Service," and "Labor and Consumer Education." . . Mr. Starr attended the London Labor College in 1915-16 on a scholarship from the South Wales Miners' Federation . . . during the war taught workers' education classes . . . member of executive board and divisional organizer and teacher of the National Council of Labor Colleges . . . came to the United States in 1928 to teach British labor history at Brookwood Labor College.

GEORGE E. AXTELL

Vice president from the College Section . . . charter member and former president of Local 460 . . . editor of the 1940 Year-

book of the John Dewey Society and member of the Editorial Committee of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*. . . Degrees from University of Washington, University of Hawaii and University of California . . . principal and superintendent in Oregon, 1920-24; head of training school and experimental school in Honolulu, 1924-30; principal, Oakland, Calif., 1930-35; Northwestern University School of Education, 1935—.

STANTON E. SMITH

Vice president from Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi . . . joined the AFT in 1932, helped to organize Local 246 and was its president through 1939 . . . was a delegate to the Tennessee Federation of Labor representing Local 246 from 1935-38 . . . spent six months on leave of absence to work as a full-time AFT organizer in the South . . . has been labor activities trustee of the Central Labor Union from 1936 on . . . Denison University gave Mr. Smith his A.B. and he took further work at the Universities of Wisconsin and Chattanooga . . . has taught mathematics in the Chattanooga High School since 1930.

IRVIN R. KUENZLI

Secretary-treasurer . . . president of the Springfield, Ohio, Federation of Teachers, 1934-35; president of the Ohio Federation of Teachers, 1934-36; national vice president, 1936-37 . . . president of the Ohio Classical Conference for four years . . . president of the Springfield Teachers' Association . . . member of the permanent Education Committee of the AFL . . . member of the International Committee on Education, Paris Exposition. . . Mr. Kuenzli received his A.B. and M.A. from Wittenberg College and was head of the Latin department of the Springfield high schools for fourteen years.

JOHN D. CONNORS

Vice president from New England . . . one of the organizers and charter members of the New Bedford Teachers Union, Local 263 . . . helped organize the Massachusetts State Branch of the AFT . . . vice president, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor . . . at present serves as member of the Board of Directors of the New Bedford Consumers Cooperative which he helped organize . . . organized and was first president of the New Bedford Labor School. . . Degree

from Boston University and graduate work at Harvard . . . has been a public school classroom teacher of Consumer Education in the New Bedford High School for the past fifteen years.

PAUL W. PREISLER

Vice president from the Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma area . . . organizer and president of Local 420, St. Louis, and has organized locals in southern Illinois and a WPA local in St. Louis . . . led the fight which compelled St. Louis Board of Education to remove rule prohibiting teacher membership in labor unions . . . forced restoration of non-partisan election of school board members in St. Louis through Missouri Supreme Court decision . . . the author of papers on chemical research, Mr. Preisler received his Ph.D. from the Washington University Medical School . . . National Research Fellow, 1927-29 . . . has been an instructor in Biological Chemistry, Washington University Medical School, since 1932.

LILA A. HUNTER

Vice president from the Northwest Area, West Coast . . . president for three terms of the Seattle High School Teachers' League (1932-35) which led fight against drastic retrenchments in the schools and brought about reinstatement of teachers in the Seattle school while the Union was underground . . . President of Local 200 and the State Federation of Teachers in 1937-38 and national vice president of the AFT in 1938-39. . . B.A. degree from the University of Washington . . . teacher in Seattle high school.

LAYLE LANE

Vice president at large . . . member of Local 5 for seventeen years and served as secretary for three years . . . acted as teacher counsel before the Board of Education and was a member of several delegations to the Board on grievance cases . . . member of Harlem Labor Center and Education Committee to aid the Southern Tenant Farmers Union . . . columnist for the *New York Age*. . . A.B. from Howard University and A.M. from Columbia . . . courses at the New School for Social Research . . . is now a teacher of social studies at the Benjamin Franklin High School in New York City.



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Green Pledges Full Support to Organize Nation's Teachers

by WILLIAM GREEN, President
American Federation of Labor

I AM PLEASED to be here with you at the opening of your Convention and to bring you a word of greeting and, in addition, to assure you of the deep interest of myself and the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor in the welfare of your splendid organization.

The field over which you exercise jurisdiction is broad and comprehensive. You function in the field of education, organizing those employed in the public schools and in the educational institutions of our Nation. Because of this association and this environment, you are privileged to understand to a greater degree the question of economics, of economic philosophy, of social and industrial problems. For that reason I am conscious of the fact that I am addressing this morning, men and women who are students of economics, of social problems and of industrial development.

I am indeed proud of the fact that your splendid organization is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. And it seems quite appropriate and most fitting that I should refer to this historic movement at this moment. We regard the American Federation of Labor as the labor movement in the United States and Canada. It is the instrumentality through which men and women express their point of view and it is the machinery through which they seek to achieve social and economic betterment.

I make that statement because organizations paralleling the American Federation of Labor abroad are being wiped out through the march of totalitarian dictatorships. But it is the American Federation of Labor that has stood and stands today in defense of democracy, freedom and liberty. It will always stand there, immovable against attacks which may be made upon it.

Experience and Training Form Basis of AFL Organization

History shows that those who came together and laid the foundation of our movement were men of experience and training, experience and training in the field of industrial relationships, in the field of economics, in the field of social philosophy, and it was out of the experience they had gained that they laid the foundation upon which our great super-structure has been erected. Through all the years we have built on that foundation, maintaining it, jealously guarding it, carefully protecting it against assaults from without or from within.

But we have not pursued a rigid, inflexible policy. Instead we have appropriated to our administrative wisdom and policies all the lessons we have learned out of our organizational and economic experiences.

In the beginning we started with just a few thousand, a few hundred perhaps I should say, and we have added to that year by year, month by month, until today our great American Federation of Labor movement numbers more than five million working men and women, members of the American Federation of Labor. That is remarkable because of the fact that in 1935 a dual movement, rival and rebel to the American Federation of Labor, was formed. When it was formed, about a million members left the American Federation of Labor and joined this rival, rebel, dual movement. That reduced our membership that amount, one million members.

AFL Membership Expands Two Million During 1935-1940

Since then we have added to our membership until we have overcome all those losses, the million that we lost when this rebel movement was formed, have made up for all of it, and in addition have added to our membership until we have grown from three million in 1935 to five million in 1940. That is the record made by the American Federation of Labor.

We have endeavored to the best of our ability to prevail upon those who

left us to return and to become a part of the American Federation of Labor. In response to appeals made by the President of the United States, we appointed committees for the purpose of meeting with committees representing the rebel movement, those who left us; and these committees have participated in numerous conferences but, unfortunately, no definite results were accomplished until after they had met for quite a length of time. Finally an agreement was reached, an agreement which provided for the solution of our difficulties and for a return of these prodigals who left us back home to the house of labor and to the American Federation of Labor.

Sought to Bring Divided Labor Together for Unity

The committees duly appointed by both sides agreed unanimously upon a plan of settlement and of procedure, but unfortunately the one man at the head of the dual movement vetoed the agreement, rejected it, repudiated it, and threw it aside. Consequently, all that had been done had come to naught.

That is a fact, and I am wondering whether all those you represent are actually acquainted with that fact, that an agreement had been reached providing for a fair solution of our problems and a fair settlement of our difficulties.

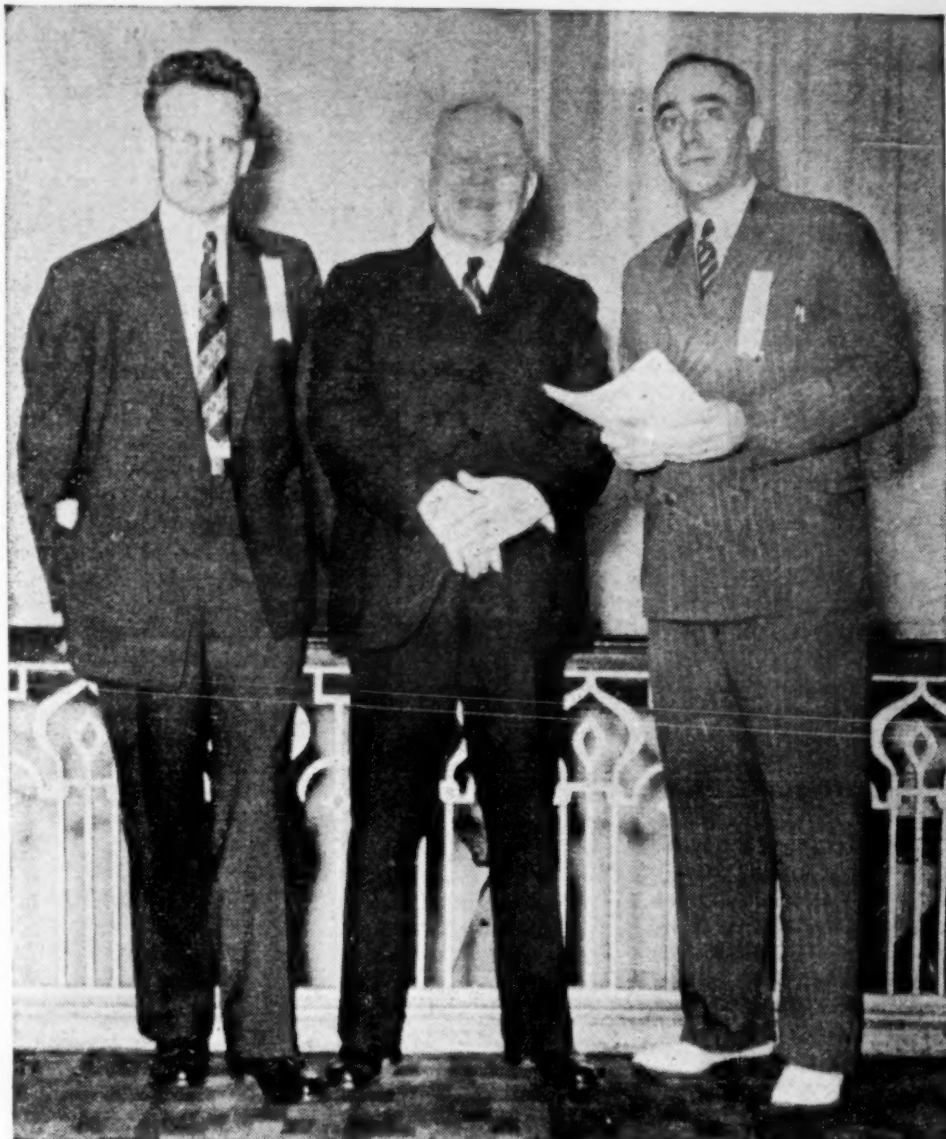
We have responded to every appeal that was made to meet and endeavor to settle our differences around the conference table. We were not the original offenders. We occupied the house of labor. It was a house erected by a united movement in America. We always regard those who leave home as the ones who have seceded, and it was those who lead this rival movement that left home, marched out of the house of labor, out of the rooms they occupied, living in a fraternal relationship with millions of other workers.

Could it be expected that the American Federation of Labor would vacate the home of labor it had built, march out and leave it, and say to those who first left, "There it is. Take it. It is yours." No sensible person would acquiesce in such a policy. But occupying the home as we have, we have asked those who left to come back, assuring them that a hand of welcome would be extended, that they would be accorded all the rights and privileges of members of organized labor when and if they return, that no penalties would be imposed, no commitments required, but simply a willingness to come back home and fight if they wish for the acceptance of the principles they believed in within the family of labor, rather than to stand outside and try to force men and women to accept their point of view.

Will Never Abandon Democratic Procedures or Yield to Force

The American Federation of Labor will respond to the appeal of reason, of facts, but the American Federation of Labor will never yield to force applied to it by those who seek to compel it to abandon democratic procedure and democratic principles and yield to force.

That leads me to the consideration of the causes of this division within the ranks of labor. The question over industrial or craft unions has been a question that has occupied the attention of the men and women of labor during the seventy-five years of its existence. But the American Federation of Labor wisely, in accordance with circumstances and facts, applied both forms of organization in the pursuit of its administrative policies. We have given the building-trades organizations the craft form of union because it best suited their needs.



William Green (center), president of the American Federation of Labor, following his address to the American Federation of Teachers Convention. Left, George S. Counts; right, Irvin R. Kuenzli.

We have given to the printing-trades organization the craft form of organization because those who were members of the printing-trade unions alleged and argued that it suited their economic needs best of all.

1935 AFL Convention Voted "No" on Industrial Unionism

In 1935 at the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Atlantic City, the question was submitted to the sovereign delegates in attendance at that convention for final decision. And it was debated just as you will debate questions here. It was considered just as you will consider questions here at this convention. Full opportunity for all to engage in debate and present their point of view was accorded to every delegate in attendance.

Finally, after hours and hours of debate, a vote was taken and a decision was made by a two-thirds majority. That ought to have settled the question. That was democratic procedure, the rule of the majority honestly registered. But the minority said, "No," and decided to withdraw.

There is the story. That is why and how it came about that the dual, rebel, rival movement was formed. It grew out of a stubborn refusal to obey the will of the majority after that minority that refused had submitted the issue to a jury of their peers for final decision. Whenever we abandon democratic procedure, in the affairs of our organized labor movement, we cannot defend democratic procedure in the administration of governmental affairs.

I would rather preserve the principles of democracy even though I was defeated in a fair test than to lead a movement that struck at the very heart and the very vitals of democracy and democratic procedure. I hope I shall always be a good loser as well as a good winner. If in debate I can win a majority to my side, I will be happy. But if I can't, and the vote is against me, then it is my solemn duty to yield to the will of the majority. And when you depart from the application of that principle in the solution of our differences, we then, by implication at least, favor the rule of force which today is subduing the free democratic peoples of the world.

Now I want to tell this splendid convention this morning, following these remarks on that subject, that the door is open. A welcome will be extended

to those who left us when they are ready to return. No penalties will be imposed. No requirements must be met. Simply come back home to the house of the American Federation of Labor. Some have already come. A splendid big union that left with the CIO, numbering 250,000, became disillusioned and came back to the American Federation of Labor, the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union. They are home with us now, happy, contented, as a part of the five million members of the American Federation of Labor.

There is one other matter that is disturbing us all very greatly. We are living here in America in the shadow of a great tragedy. We are shocked over the developments that have taken place abroad. We have been made sad as we have seen the march of dictatorships dominating and controlling, subduing free democratic nations and free democratic people, and we have arrived at the conclusion now that the conflict is between the two philosophies of government, the totalitarian form of government and the democratic form of government as we have it here.

Should Help Britain with All Aid Possible Short of Actual War

As the leaders of these totalitarian nations have invaded free democratic countries like Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland, Denmark, Belgium, Luxembourg and France, our hearts have been made sad. We realize after all that the leaders of these fine democratic countries were ideologists. They could not believe that this designing leader of dictatorships in Europe would go so far as he has gone.

Now our hearts go out to these people and we are deeply concerned because now it seems that Great Britain is standing alone in defense of democratic principles and our democratic form of government. I believe that the majority of the people in the United States of America earnestly pray hourly and daily that Great Britain can stand the attack and that ultimately it will win in this uneven conflict.

For that reason I am one of those who believe that our government should accord to those who are making the fight for democracy in the front line trenches, figuratively speaking, all the support we can give them short of war.

I know the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor are

(Continued on page 8)

AFT to Grow to Half Million Members, AFL Leader Predicts

(Continued from page 7)

opposed to our Nation being involved in the European conflict. We shall never favor the sending of one American son to a battlefield in Europe.

The American Federation of Labor is a mighty force in the political and economic life of America. As a great influential force, it will stand uncompromisingly against our involvement in the European war.

But there are many things we can do without resort to war. There is much help we can extend. There is much assistance we can give to those who after all are really fighting our battles. I am one of those who believe that we should go to the limit, whatever that may be, in giving support to those who are so gallantly and heroically fighting to save democracy in the world.

Defense Program Is Designed to Protect American Continent

Because nation after nation has surrendered in Europe and they have become vassals and subjects of the totalitarian rulers in totalitarian nations, we have become alarmed, here on the North American continent. Because we want to protect our homes, our homelands, our institutions and our democratic form of government, we have embarked upon a preparedness program, preparedness, defense, a program designed to defend America from the invasion of a foreign foe. I know that the heart of labor responds wholeheartedly to such a policy. We are in hearty accord with the development and formation of a program wholly designed to protect our homeland, our homes, our firesides, our freedom, our liberty and our democratic form of government. No one would be worthy of the right to be an American citizen if he or she was not willing to defend our homes and our government in distress.

In these days we are evaluating freedom, liberty and justice. We are learning to place a true meaning and a new value upon these sacred fundamentals.

Our trade unions are being wiped out abroad. Organized labor cannot meet in conventions as free democratic institutions in Germany, Soviet Russia or Italy as you are meeting here today. The first thing Hitler did when he established himself as the autocrat in control of Germany was to wipe out the free democratic trade unions that had been set up. He confiscated their property, seized their meeting places and their halls, sent the leaders of the free democratic movement to these camps where they were interned as prisoners of the autocratic nation.

Fought for Right to Form Free Voluntary Organizations

Thousands of them are in those concentration camps. Some have disappeared forever, and we know not where, but their friends have asked us to try to locate them. The State Department and our Government have diligently tried to locate them, but thus far have failed. The only answer is that they have gone, gone forever. Why? Simply because they believed in democracy and for the reason they were officers and leaders of democratic trade unions in Germany.

In all those countries I have named, including Russia, the economic life of the workers is controlled by the government, and if there is one thing we have fought for in America, it is for freedom, freedom of action, liberty for the individual and the right to form our own free voluntary organizations among the working men and women of our country.

Now plans are being formulated for the purpose of building up a defense program, and we are endeavoring to cooperate with the Government in every possible way, because loyalty to our trade unions presupposes loyalty and devotion to our Government. That principle is fundamental. It is a primary requirement that members of organized labor shall also be members of a government, supporters of the government and our democratic institutions.

Our workers in the navy yards and in the arsenals and the airplane manu-

facturing plants have been giving of their time and service and we have advised them to give of it freely and fully. The one stipulation we have made is this: that in giving freely and fully, we insist that the labor standards we have set up, such as the minimum rates of pay and maximum hours of employment, the fundamental principles of the Wagner Labor Relations Act and all the social justice legislation we have secured during the last few years shall be maintained and none of it wiped out or modified.

We are of the opinion that even overtime with overtime pay should not be required until the nine or ten million of unemployed are absorbed and given jobs where they can earn a decent living for themselves and their families.

Now comes the question of man power. We have maintained that it would be useless, senseless, and contradictory for us to build a navy adequate, build tanks sufficient in number so that we could resist any invasion from a foreign foe, build thousands of airplanes sufficient to meet any attack that might be made upon us unless we equipped all of it with an adequate man power. That is necessary. For airplanes mean nothing, tanks mean nothing, ships mean nothing, unless all of them are manned by patriotic, devoted, capable men.

Organized Canadian Labor Expects United States Aid

I am one of those who believe that if the Dominion of Canada would be attacked by any foreign foe, then our American Government should regard that as equal to an attack upon America itself and rally to the support of Canada in defense of the Canadian homeland. I associate Canada and the members of organized labor in Canada today with us here in America, for if we have them in our unions, they are our brothers and sisters, and they have a right to expect from us the same support that we would give to those who live on this side of the line.

Lastly, I want to talk to you about yourselves and about your organization. You have been a part of the American Federation of Labor since 1916. A charter was granted to you in May, 1916, twenty-four years ago.

Our central bodies and our state federations of labor are in every state in the Union, and we have a thousand central bodies in a thousand cities. We have forty-eight state federations of labor in forty-eight states. All of them have rallied to any appeal the teachers ever made to them, to support initiated legislation designed to promote their economic and social welfare, or to protect social and economic legislation written on the statutes designed to protect your interests.

When city councils in the different cities announce that because of economic reasons it becomes necessary to modify the salaries paid to teachers, where do you go for help? The first place you go is to your friends. And who are your friends? The Chamber of Commerce? The Manufacturers Association? Or do you go to some uplifting political organization? The first place you go is to the strong, economic organization in your city, the central body.

Locals Receive Assistance from Central Labor Bodies

I know the great service the Chicago Federation of Labor has rendered the teachers in Chicago. I know the great service the Atlanta central body has rendered the teachers of Atlanta. And in other cities I could name the same thing has occurred. We are anxious to render you that support continuously. In national legislation, the American Federation of Labor has never failed you. Only during the last session of Congress we made a determined fight to secure adequate appropriations of federal funds in order to help the weaker school districts of the country so that decent wages would be paid to those

who teach in the public schools and colleges of the country.

I want to tell you that if you forget everything else I have said to you, whether it pleases you or displeases you, remember that the American Federation of Labor will stand in Washington, immovable and uncompromising, in support of the appropriations of adequate federal funds to help finance the schools of the Nation.

And if any attempt is made to lower your standards, to modify standards reared and set up anywhere or anyplace, our great powerful and economic movement will be with you, helping you and assisting you.

But I am not satisfied with all that you have done, nor am I satisfied with all that you are doing. I think I should be frank and tell you so, in words that you cannot misunderstand. First of all, you have a membership now of thirty thousand paid up memberships in the American Federation of Labor. You started out with a thousand, twenty-four years ago. You have fluctuated between that thousand and thirty thousand during the years that have intervened. But what is the potential membership in the United States?

What is your field? The records show that in public elementary schools there are 594,793 teachers. In the public high schools there are 282,473 teachers. In the colleges, state and private, there are 97,566. In the teachers' training institutions, there are 11,295. That makes a total of 986,127, almost one million.

Here are some more, where jurisdiction is not clear: In the private elementary schools there are 67,000. That is not quite clear, but I think it should come under your jurisdiction. At least, I give them to you. In the private high schools, there are 27,964. In the college preparatory department, there are 2,740. In the commercial private, 3,231. In the residential institutions for delinquents or defectives, 5,700. In the state schools for Indians and native Alaskans, 1,200. Total 108,072. And that makes a total of 1,094,199.

Broad Field of Jurisdiction Warrants Membership of 500,000

There is your potential membership. Now, can anyone of you tell me why you have only 30,000 out of this million? We think you ought to have at least 500,000 in your organization. As I say, your field of jurisdiction is broad and comprehensive. I know of no other organization chartered by the American Federation of Labor which has been given a broader, more comprehensive jurisdiction, covering a larger membership, than has the American Federation of Teachers.

My friends, there is one thing you are doing and that is, you are working in the field that is very sensitive to public opinion. American public opinion requires of the teachers who teach the youth of the land the maintenance of the highest sort of patriotic standards. They are teaching the coming generation.

These school teachers have definite opinions. They are trained to think along definite lines. The impression, rightfully or wrongfully, has gone abroad that your Union is controlled by those who are flirting, at least, with an economic philosophy that is contradictory to American ideals and public opinion in the United States of America.

I have been disappointed over certain actions you have taken myself, and particularly by some of your local unions in some cities of the country. It is my opinion that before you can make an appeal to these million teachers that you have to place this movement way up

on a high plane, and you have to make a declaration of devotion to American institutions and America against all and any other place in the world before you are going to win them to your side.

I told you I was going to speak frankly to you. I want to say to you, my friends, that the membership of the organized labor movement can neither flirt with nor tolerate any "ism" in America other than Americanism.

Just think of it. In the greatest city of the country, New York City, our splendid labor movement, supported by a healthy public opinion, was compelled to expel your teachers' union from membership in that central body because of its flirtation with these foreign "isms." There it is outside the labor movement, no relation to it. Imagine what the teachers of the country whom you are trying to organize in your union think. Do you think you will ever get them through such a procedure? Never in a million years.

I urge you to put your house in order. If there is one union that ought to make a declaration on Americanism, that is susceptible of but one interpretation, and that is loyalty and devotion to our public schools, to our free democratic institutions, to the Declaration of Independence, and to our own country against all others, it is this Union here.

The position you occupy in the intellectual, educational, social and industrial life of the Nation makes that absolutely necessary.

Ask Help of AFL to Launch Organizing Drives for Union

We have been asked repeatedly by your leaders to help and assist in launching organizing drives. We have helped to some extent, but it is the opinion of our executive council and the leaders of our movement that it will only be a waste of effort and waste of money to try until you first make clear to the Nation that you are an American institution.

Following up what I said, we are ready and willing to give support to your chosen leaders, selected in democratic fashion and in conformity with democratic rules and procedure, financially and otherwise to the extent of our ability whenever you put your house in order as I have suggested here. When you do, and if you do, and we launch the drive, carry it on aggressively and successfully with the support of the strong public opinion, you will have not thirty thousand members out of a million potential members, but you will have a half a million, within a short time, devoted members of your splendid organization.

I crave the opportunity of congratulating you upon your return to the New York Central Trades and Labor Council.

I want to say a word in conclusion about your leadership. I have a high regard for Dr. Counts, the president of this splendid organization. He has worked hard, giving of his energy and his strength to your movement all during the past year. I conferred with him frequently and we have counseled and advised together. I want to pay him this tribute, not only as a great educator, but as a great American. And he is a splendid executive as well.

It has been my privilege to meet Brother Kuenzli quite often in Chicago, because we have had a number of matters up in Chicago. I classify him the same as I do your distinguished President, Dr. George Counts. I have never seen or met with such evidences of devotion to a great cause, the cause of organized labor, as these men have shown during my acquaintanceship with them.

Studebaker's Message to AFT Convention

At no time in the world's history has it been clearer than it is today that equality of opportunity can be assured only by universal education.

Competition between nations as well as competition between individuals can be controlled in the interests of the public only as the people, through education, come to realize that the general welfare rests upon the socialization of individuals. Teachers have, therefore, an unusual task during these times of world crisis. Upon their shoulders, in the last analysis, aided by other social leaders, rests the responsibility of planting in the minds of this generation the idea that in lifting the idealities and living standards of all people resides the only assurance of the highest welfare of each individual.

John W. Studebaker,
U. S. Commissioner of Education

Events Today Test Democracy—Counts

America Faces a Fast-Changing World at War

by GEORGE S. COUNTS, President
American Federation of Teachers

A YEAR AGO we met in convention in this city. The intervening twelve months have been the longest in history. Already last August seems to belong to another epoch. The world as we knew it then, in both its political and moral contours, has been profoundly altered. Many of the premises on which we did our thinking then have dissolved beneath our feet. We are entering a new age, both in the Old World and in the New, whose outlines, whose conditions, whose controlling purposes no one can discern. We all have our hopes, we all perhaps have made our resolves; but whether those hopes or resolves shall prevail, we do not know.

Hitler's Political Methods Broke Resistance of Democratic Nations

The league of dictators, consummated at the very time our convention met, has achieved cataclysmic and unanticipated successes. The spiritual and material defenses of the liberal and democratic states on the continent of Europe proved utterly incapable of opposing the political methods and the mechanized legions of Hitler, assisted as he was by the national and international resources of his partners in aggression. Except for Sweden, Switzerland, and mutilated Finland, tiny islands in a vast totalitarian sea, and the Chinese Republic, beleaguered in its western defenses, dictatorship and aggression stand triumphant from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Bering Sea. Nowhere in that vast region of intellectual blackouts would this convention of ours, or anything resembling it, be tolerated; nowhere is a free labor movement possible. As we meet here the Supreme Court of Fascist France, sitting in session at Riom and under the eyes of Hitler, is proceeding ingloriously to judge the last inglorious acts and enter the inglorious remains of the Third Republic. At this fateful hour the British people in their island fortress, with courage and unity that may have come too late, are marshalling the material and spiritual resources of their empire to meet the Nazi assault. If this last bastion of human freedom beyond the Atlantic fails, and with all her faults Britain is such a bastion for us, America will stand alone in a world deeply and militantly hostile to the central ideas and values of her tradition. If Britain falls, one of the maddest and most sinister geniuses ever to appear in history will hold the Old World in thrall and cast his malign shadow over the entire earth. If Britain falls quickly, we may witness in America a wave of popular fear and hysteria that will surpass anything of its kind in our history.

Dictators May Prove Incapable of Riding Storm They Created

The worst of course may not happen. Someone may perform the miracle which Weygand failed to perform on the battlefields of France; the dictators may fall out among themselves and proceed to quarrel over the plunder; enslaved peoples, armed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century manner with axes and pitch-forks, a few horse-pistols and cellar-made bombs, may overcome the Nazi air pilots and tank operators in their sleep; the economy of the Third Reich may be laid low by the "contradictions of capitalism"; the architects of the "new order in Europe," men who have shown delight in torture and persecution, may grow tender-minded and starve their own peoples in order to feed the members of "inferior races"; Hitler may just tire of it all and go away to Berchtesgaden to paint pictures for the rest of his life; or we may wake up some morning to



President Counts and Florence C. Hanson, secretary-treasurer of the AFT from 1926 to 1935, at an Executive Council luncheon at Buffalo which was given in honor of Mrs. Hanson. She spoke briefly to the Council and its guests.

find that the events of the past ten years are but a nightmare. More seriously, the dictators may prove wholly incapable of riding the storm they have helped to call forth; the basic patterns of civilized life may be so firmly established in the cultures of Europe that they will reassert themselves after the fury of the present gale has spent itself; or Fascism, Nazism, and the "dictatorship of the proletariat" may be but the surface and fleeting phenomena of a world in revolution.

Leaders Have Prized Their Class Privileges Above Ideals and Values

Let us hope that some happy outcome of the present tragedy is in the stars. Let us hope that some sudden and favorable turn in the fortunes of democracy will come. Let us hope that Hitler and the regime which he has founded will pass away as quickly as they came into being. Let us all hope for the best, but let us not act on such hopes. To do so would be folly. It is one of the tragedies of these years that the leaders of the democracies have resolutely and consistently closed their eyes and their consciences to unpleasant truths. Prizing their comforts and their class privileges above the values in which they have professed to believe, again and again they have prepared for the best when they should have prepared for the worst. They have assumed that certain things would not happen merely because those things were unpleasant. They have assumed that Hitler did not mean what he said merely because what he said was horrifying. They have assumed that unrelieved catastrophe, though visiting other peoples and other times, would pass them by.

We in America, the very symbol of democracy in the modern world, cannot permit ourselves the luxury of such comforting optimism. We must realize that the tables have already been turned, that twelve months packed with revolutionary events have passed since last August, that seven very long years have come and gone since Hitler came to power in 1933. We must catch up with history. We must face the fact that, at least for a period, the great hopes that inspired us all but yesterday are gone. Gone is the hope that the Russian Revolution would extend the domain of human freedom on the earth; gone is the hope that the peoples of Europe would reconcile their differences and devote their matchless energies and talents to cultural advance; gone is the hope that the League of Nations would bring a just and lasting peace to mankind; gone also is the hope that the world was one time made safe for democracy. To all who derive their values from the great liberal, humanistic, and democratic heritage of Western culture the future is dark and forbidding. The American people must prepare themselves to defend this heri-

tage in a world dominated by totalitarian philosophy and organized by the physical might of a few great military states. In such a world a nation must be strong or perish.

In meeting this challenge of the dictators, in guarding the spiritual heritage of the Western World against the resurgence of calculated barbarism, in building and manning the defenses of American democracy, the teachers of the country, and particularly the American Federation of Teachers, have a heavy and special responsibility. But before we consider the nature of that responsibility, before we are in a position to ask the confidence of the American people, we must take our stand without hesitation or equivocation on two crucial questions.

First, we must recognize the necessity of powerful military defenses—defenses capable of protecting our independence and our institutions from any possible attack by foreign arms. The experience of the Old World demonstrates that in this age no people, however peaceful and innocent of aggressive intent, can entrust its safety to another, to any system of alliances, or to any international order. That experience demonstrates further that modern technology, when applied in its full logic by a great industrial people to the waging of war, is a truly terrifying weapon, capable of performing miracles, capable of cutting to ribbons in an incredibly short time the "best army in Europe," capable of devising in quick succession new engines of warfare that make possible the impossible. To complete the picture, it is necessary to add that there is abroad in the world today a spirit of violent and unabashed aggression that recognizes no bounds and bows only to superior physical might. To meet this threat the American people must and will prepare. Regarding methods and principles of defense we shall disagree and dispute for some time. But regarding the necessity for such defense, there is and there will be little variance in opinion.

Must Refute Totalitarian Spirit Masquerading as Americanism

Second, we must make clear beyond any doubt that we are utterly opposed to every form of totalitarian movement and doctrine, including both those that have been imported from abroad and go by the names of Communism, Fascism, and Nazism and those that grow out of our own soil and cloak the totalitarian spirit under the garb of Americanism—those domestic movements that encourage resort to violence and harbor the idea of dictatorship or divine mission of any class, order, race or person. Every one of the current forms of totalitarianism has some merit or appeal, otherwise under no circumstances could it rally millions to its standard and set a world in

Youth's Hopes in a Democracy Must Be Revived

flames. Yet, whatever its claims to democracy, we must recognize that each is hostile, with an implacable hostility, to the essential spirit and the general pattern of democracy, to the spirit of a Jefferson or a Lincoln, to the very idea of a society of free men. Moreover, if anyone thinks for a moment that the American people, American labor, or American teachers, in the light of recent developments in the world, will accept the leadership of any organization that equivocates on this issue, he is unfamiliar with the elements of social psychology and the mind of his own countrymen. Also, if anyone thinks that he can play a game of hide and seek on this issue, pursuing the course of secrecy, anonymity, evasion and conspiracy, he is only deceiving himself and betraying the Federation.

Democracy Should Offer Positive "Social Faith"

But our central task is neither to build the military defenses of the nation nor to belabor the dictatorships. We know that the disasters which have befallen the democracies of Europe can by no means be attributed entirely or even largely to the designs of evil men. We know that the peoples of these democracies weighed the professed leaders and programs of democracy and found them wanting. We know further that, if American democracy has no adequate positive program to offer, if it holds out no great promise of a better world, if it allows itself to become the symbol of special privilege, if it is unable to put the unemployed to work and release the productive energies of our country, it cannot meet successfully the totalitarian threat. Each of the dictatorships expresses, defends and advances a social faith which, however hideous to us, in the eyes of its followers is a great and challenging faith. It may be faith in the charisma or divine mission of some supposed superman, whether he goes by the name of Il Duce, Der Fuehrer, or Velikii Vojzd, or it may be faith in some body of mystical doctrine organized about the proletariat, ancient Rome, or Homo Teutonicus. Each presents to its devotees a great hope, a great cause, a great destiny. Each promises, not quiet and comfort, but, in the manner and spirit of the great leaders of men from the beginning of time, sacrifice, hardship, and even death. The dictators have held out to the youth of their lands the challenge of the conquest of continents, of the building of new heavens and new earths. And they have done this at a period in history when continents can be conquered and when new heavens and new earths are possible—indeed when they are inevitable.

Youth Has Repudiated False Promises for Delusion of Action

In the face of this challenge, what has democracy offered youth? In some cases the dole or a job proffered in the spirit of the dole, a bit of charity grudgingly given and carrying the stigma of incompetence and failure, a gesture calculated to generate a sense of inferiority and of bitter frustration. In other cases we have counselled the youth to be patient, to wait for the return of better times, to watch the years, their years, slip by in futility and helplessness. Little wonder that some of our most sensitive and idealistic young men and women, either deprived of their own birthright or moved by the deprivations of others, have joined the totalitarian camps. And they have done this, not because of any deep-seated hostility to the values of democracy, but because they felt that apologists of democracy had failed them. Indeed, many are so deeply committed to democracy that they have followed the dictators, nourishing the delusion that in some

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Armies, Navies Not Sufficient for U. S. Defense

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curious way they were battling in the cause of human liberation.

The nature of the democratic failure, however, has been widely misunderstood. Some of the critics are fond of chiding youth for their "softness," for their inability to "take it," as did their forebears who fought and died in the cause of liberty and who explored and conquered a continent. American youth, no less than their fathers and mothers or their brothers and sisters in the totalitarian states, are capable of taking punishment, of toiling long and hard, of postponing marriage and children, of giving themselves completely. Democracy has faltered, not because it has deprived youth of the things of the flesh, but because it has denied them the things of the spirit. Many of the youth of today, besides being materially insecure, are spiritually restless and starved. These young people crave the one thing the dictators have offered in abundance—the opportunity to toil and sacrifice for a cause—the opportunity to make their lives significant.

"Leaders of Democracy Must Believe in It Themselves"

The defense of our democracy may require powerful armies and navies, but armies and navies are not enough. If our democracy is to save itself, it must do far more than appropriate billions of dollars for arms, build tanks, airplanes, and battleships, master the correlated military skills and knowledges. It must remove all sense of bitterness, cynicism and frustration from the hearts of youth and arouse hope, conviction and enthusiasm. It must assert itself as a positive and aggressive social faith, prepared to battle with every form of totalitarianism for the loyalties of men. This means that the leaders of democracy must believe in it themselves and place its commands above all else. This means also that the democratic faith must be translated into programs that deal with the present realities and assure the more complete fulfillment of the great promises of democracy—into programs that bring opportunity and justice to all. In view of the incomparable ethical superiority of the democratic faith the task of leadership here should be far easier than that of the dictators. After all, each of the totalitarian faiths is false and spurious at the core; each violates something that is greatest and finest in the human heart.

This part of the job of defense belongs to us. At any rate our major responsibility lies here. At no time in our history, however, have we done this job well. On the one hand, in the traditional school, in an effort to teach patriotism, we have generally pursued the blind, formal, and uninspiring course of putting the intellect and all the creative faculties to sleep. We have developed superficial loyalties, conveyed understanding of neither past nor present, and cultivated the disposition to follow the stereotypes and not the spirit of democracy. On the other hand, in the progressive movement, as a reaction against tradition and in a spirit of intellectual emancipation, we have often delighted in shaking old loyalties, but have failed to arouse new ones. We have known all of the questions, but none of the answers. Or rather, we have known that there are no answers. We have given to the young all of the doubts, but none of the affirmations of life. Both the loyalty to stereotypes of the traditional school and the scorn of loyalty of the progressive movement, both the neglect of understanding of the one and the one-sided intellectual emphasis of the other constitute an urgent invitation to the dictator to take over. In both the traditional and the progressive schools our work has lacked life, vision, seriousness, deep moral purpose. It was said long ago, and truly, that where there is no vision the people perish.

Our first obligation in repairing the spiritual defenses of our democracy is to identify ourselves with the democratic



More than 500 delegates representing 35,000 Union teachers gathered at the Hotel Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y., to attend the National Convention of the American Federation of Teachers. The Convention, which met from August 19-23, heard reports

on the achievements of its locals. At the last minute the Convention was moved from the Hotel Statler because of a labor dispute. Above, a portion of the delegates assembled in the Grand Ballroom of Hotel Buffalo.

faith, frankly and positively, and without reservation. This faith, product of centuries of struggle by many and diverse peoples in different parts of the world, has a number of articles. The first and most fundamental of all is the affirmation that the human heritage of earth and culture belong, not to any particular class, caste, or race, but to all men—the affirmation that all men are created equal. The second, which serves to guard and fulfill the first, is the declaration that ordinary men and women, farmers, carpenters, mechanics, housewives, and even teachers, can and should rule themselves. These two articles taken together constitute the faith of the common man—the faith that the individual human being is the measure of all things and is both deserving and capable of freedom. Throughout most of history the very idea that the undistinguished rank and file of mankind, the "hewers of wood and drawers of water," should aspire to such power and status has been regarded as treason. Nay, even as blasphemy. And so it is today wherever totalitarian philosophy prevails. When the protagonists of such philosophy do formal homage to these great articles of the democratic faith, they do so only for propaganda purposes and in order the more utterly to destroy them.

Fierce Assertion of Equality Is Tremendous Defense Resource

In conformity with the ideals of our Federation from the beginning, we must identify ourselves vigorously with the democratic faith of our people, with our great tradition of liberty and equality. Although our life has been marked by grievous exploitation of certain elements of our population at every period of our colonial and national existence, the long and sustained struggle on the part of the ordinary American citizen to attain the full status of manhood constitutes the most impressive record of its kind in history. No one of the dictators of the Old World, who now daily pronounce the doom of democracy, ever breathed the spirit of personal independence and dignity that has characterized the ordinary American community for generations. This spirit, this fierce assertion of equality, remarked by so many foreign visitors to our shores, has given to our history whatever distinction it has. It is the most precious thing we possess and should be converted into a tremendous resource in our defense of the democratic faith. The fact that we read daily in our newspapers of outrages committed against this tradition, outrages that make us weep, gives us no grounds for the repudiation of our heritage and for the vindication of totalitarian doctrine or aggression in any form whatsoever. It merely means that the threat to our liberties comes from at home as well as from abroad. With all of our deficiencies, the hope that democracy will survive in the world rests profoundly with us.

Democratic Education Is Designed to Set Men Free, to Guard Freedom

Our central and peculiar responsibility in the defense of American democracy today and tomorrow is to work everlast-

ingly to bring our entire system of public education into the service of democracy—to wipe out the educational inequalities between races, classes, occupations and regions, to conceive and launch a program of vocational education designed to raise the technical qualifications and enlarge the opportunities of the entire younger generation, to conceive and launch a program of youth education devoted to the interests and problems of youth in a free society, to conceive and launch a program of adult education dealing ably and courageously with the issues of the present crisis of democracy, to bring the entire educational undertaking into close relation with the life and needs of the community, to resist with all our power efforts on the part of privileged or misguided groups to take advantage of these critical times to reduce the educational services and impair the quality of the educative process, to achieve a wholly just and equitable system of school taxation and support commensurate with the program required, to enlarge the responsibilities of the teacher in the school, and to increase the role of labor and other democratic elements on boards of education. All of this is to be regarded as instrumental to the systematic rearing of the young in the democratic faith.

Qualitatively, democratic education is unlike the education of other societies and faiths. It is an education designed to set men free and equip them to guard their freedom through the generations. It is an education designed deliberately to give to the young the loyalties, the knowledge and understanding, the discipline of free men. It is an education designed to develop loyalty to the principle of the dignity and worth of the individual human being, to the principle of human equality and brotherhood, to the process of untrammelled criticism, discussion, and majority decision, to the ideal of honesty, fair-mindedness, and scientific spirit in the conduct of this process, to the idea of the obligation and the right to work, to the idea of the supremacy of the common good, to the obligation to be intelligent. It is an education designed to give to the young at appropriate levels of maturity and without any desire to deceive or mislead the social knowledge, insight, and understanding that will equip the individual most thoroughly to guard and advance both personal and social interests—knowledge of the nature of man and society, of the long effort to liberate the human mind and civilize the human heart, of the history of our own people and their struggle for liberty and justice, of the efforts of working men and women to organize and enlarge their powers and opportunities, of the origins and character of the present crisis in world society and American democracy, of the conditions and forces leading to the collapse of free institutions in the Old World, of the promises, the methods, the doctrines, and the consequences of the totalitarian movements, of the weaknesses and resources of American democracy. It is an education designed to discipline the young, through knowledge and understanding, in the ways of democracy, in the temperate and responsi-

ble use of political processes, in the subordination of individual to social welfare, in the sacrifice of the present to the long-time interests of individual and society. It is an education designed to prepare the young to live by, to labor for, and, if need be, to die for the democratic faith.

Vision of Political Freedom Indispensable to Our Defense

The crowning responsibility of our profession is to assist and guide the young in fashioning a great vision of the future of our country—the vision of guarding here in North America the human gains of the centuries during a possible age of darkness, of devoting the resources of science and technology to the creation of a civilization founded on justice and mercy, of building that ancient City of God where no man exploits his brother—a vision that is as universal as the affirmations of the Declaration of Independence, as American as the spirit of the Gettysburg Address, as liberal as the Bill of Rights, as realistic and practical as the Federal Constitution. Through our own example we should lead children and youth not only to contemplate this vision but also to strive to give it substance, to devote their energies and enthusiasms to the task of fulfilling its provisions. But in doing all of this we should caution them, lest they let fall from their hands the only instrument with which they can assure the future of their rights and liberties—the method of political freedom. Such a vision is indispensable to the defense of our democracy against the corrupting sweep of totalitarian doctrine.

The crux of our problem is the teacher. Democratic education requires two conditions here: of the teacher, loyalty to the essential values of democracy; of society, security and freedom for the teacher in both school and community. Only democratic teachers, free and secure in their posts, can rear a generation of free men and women. It is the responsibility and the opportunity of the American Federation of Teachers in this crisis to work for the establishment of these conditions, to put a free, secure, and responsible teacher into every classroom in America, to put and keep him there. In this undertaking we ask the co-operation and assistance of our great parent body, the American Federation of Labor, and of all organizations and movements working for the defense and advance of democracy in the United States. In this undertaking we ask the support of the teachers of the country.

Greetings to AFT

I am very glad to send my good wishes and greetings to members of the American Federation of Teachers. At this time teachers have a great responsibility, that of teaching the children the value of democracy and what their responsibility will be when they arrive at the age of participation in their government.

Very sincerely yours,

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT.

Kuenzli Reports Outstanding Victories of Union During 1939-40

Attacks on A F of T Tribute to Growth

by IRVIN R. KUENZLI, Sec'y-Treas.
American Federation of Teachers

THE 1940 CONVENTION of the American Federation of Teachers marks the close of the greatest year of achievement in the history of the organization. It is a significant fact that at a time when the world is involved in chaotic turmoil and cataclysmic destruction, and at a time when educational freedom has virtually ceased to exist in all great nations of the world, the AFT has won far more outstanding victories for democracy in education than at any time in its twenty-four years of history. It is probable that no other teachers' organization in America has ever won in so short a time as many important victories as the AFT has won during the past year. In a sense it seems that the year 1939-40 represents a consummation of accomplishment of the objectives for which AFT was organized twenty-four years ago by a group of courageous, forward-looking educators. The coming year will mark the silver anniversary of the founding of the AFT, and the accomplishments of our international union and the individual locals during the past year will constitute a happy prelude to the celebration next year.

Let us be thankful that we meet today in a country where democratic government and a Bill of Rights make possible a free assembly of this kind. Regardless of what our biases may be, we cannot help feeling deepest fraternal sympathy for the thousands of teachers of Europe who have become the innocent victims of a war for which they were in no way responsible. It has been my pleasure in recent years to meet with teachers from nearly all the nations of Europe and to know many of the leaders personally. I have learned at first hand something of the fearful conditions under which many of them work. I have talked with some who pointed out spies watching their every move and who were well aware they would soon be confined in concentration camps. I can say unreservedly that the teachers of the world are almost universally in favor of peace among the nations. If teachers ruled the world there would be no wars to destroy the children whose lives we have nurtured, and international brotherhood of man would be a reality.

British Union Head Describes Condition of Teachers

One after another European teachers' associations have been swept away. The secretary of the National Union of Teachers of England, the president of which has visited our last two conventions, recently described the pathetic condition of the teachers of Europe as follows:

"For nearly twenty years I have been closely connected with the teachers' associations on the continent of Europe. During the last ten years I have seen these associations, one after another, swept away by the very forces which now confront us. I have seen colleagues, often valued personal friends, fall beneath the yoke of intellectual and physical oppression. I have seen the schools prostituted to the basest of political purposes. I recall the time, but a few years since, when it was possible for anything from a dozen to twenty free teachers' associations to meet together, free to discuss their craft, their aims, their aspirations, their policies, their achievements. A few weeks ago when I reached the appointed meeting place for this year only the French and British teachers were left—and the French have now gone—whither no one knows."

A recent radiogram from Mrs. Elsie Parker, past president of the National Union of Teachers of England and known to many of you, begs for assistance for 140 refugee teachers who wish to flee to America.



President George S. Counts presides over the meeting as Secretary-Treasurer Kuenzli adjusts the microphone.

In the 18th of May issue of the official publication of the French Teachers' Union, *L'Ecole Liberatrice*, which will probably be the last to be published, the secretary of the Union writes as follows:

"Every village, every city, every home feels the same anguish that every other one feels in this dreadful time.

"To instruct, to train, to safeguard and to protect the children is our first duty. It is not only our first, it is our supreme duty."

Let us be thankful, then, that we are teachers in America and may the sad fate of European teachers' organizations inspire us the more zealously to guard intellectual freedom in America and more deeply to appreciate the accomplishments of our international union in recent years.

Recent Attacks Are Tribute to Growing Strength of Union

The fact that the AFT has, during the past four years, emerged from a small struggling international union approaching bankruptcy—with accumulated debts of several thousands of dollars—to a powerful international union in sound financial condition, is one of the outstanding accomplishments not only in the field of education but in the whole organized labor movement. In fact, the growth of the membership, power, and prestige of the AFT in recent years has so alarmed the enemies of free public education in America that the union has during the past year been subjected to the most bitter attack and the most incessant barrage since the concerted drive against the Union in 1919 and 1920 which reduced the membership from 10,000 to 3,500 within a few months.

There is no greater tribute to the growing strength of the AFT than the fact that the most powerful weapons of the foes of labor and free education have been turned against the Union. The *Saturday Evening Post*, with a circulation of more than three million copies, devoted leading space in the issue of September 2 to an attack on the AFT. In many places throughout the nation, the American Legion has mistakenly attacked the AFT through its citizenship program. Yet what educational organization in America has done more for the defense of true citizenship than AFT? In various sections throughout the country the radio has been used by prominent individuals to hurl broadcasts against the Union. One Chicago paper devoted two inch headlines on the front page to testimony regarding AFT before the Dies Committee. The fact that AFT has maintained its membership with comparatively small losses and its lines unbroken in the face of such a powerful Blitzkrieg is one of the outstanding achievements in the history of the Union.

In spite of the vigorous opposition during the past year thirteen new locals have been chartered and several re-es-

Ohio Local Signs 90% of Teachers

established where locals had previously existed. Because of the bitter attacks upon the Union the efforts of our vice presidents in charge of organization work in the various areas have been largely defensive. During the year we have suffered the loss of a large part of our WPA membership due to adverse federal legislation. Of forty-six WPA locals chartered since 1936 only twelve remained in good standing on August 1, 1940. The WPA membership has decreased from a maximum paid up membership of over 2,000 to approximately 500. However, losses in public school locals have been small and the total paid up membership in the last report was more than 90 per cent of the membership of one year ago. Since the paid up membership of the AFT varies from hour to hour and from day to day it is impossible to quote statistics which are reliable for any period of time. It is also true that the paid up membership of the Union for various reasons lags considerably behind the total membership of the organization.

Due to a situation described later in this report there has been a loss of more than 300 members in the State of Florida. Recent accomplishments, however, in this area should open up this whole southeastern territory for organization during the coming year. Outside of Florida the membership of the southeastern area is approximately the same as last year. The loss of several hundred members in the State of Pennsylvania is accounted for largely by the demise of a number of WPA locals and the failure of many of the small locals which were chartered during the organization drive of 1937 and 1938. This loss has been offset to some extent by the splendid new public school local in Coal County, Pennsylvania. The charter application for this local was signed by ninety-two teachers representing one of the largest charter memberships in the history of the Union.

The State of New York also has suffered a loss of several hundred members but this loss represents less than 10 per cent of the total membership of the State. More than one-half of this loss is in the WPA section.

Building Union in the West Is Important AFT Problem

There has also been some loss of membership in the areas west of the Mississippi River. This whole area is as yet largely unorganized and represents less than 10 per cent of the total membership of the Union. The total membership west of the Rocky Mountains is less than 1,000 and represents approximately 3 per cent of the total membership of the Union. Building the Union west of the Mississippi is one of the important problems facing the AFT.

Probably the most difficult territory of all is the south-central area consisting of six large states: Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas. This whole area has approximately 200 members widely scattered among nine locals. In spite of these facts the area offers excellent opportunities for further organization work. The new locals established at St. Joseph, Missouri, and the University of Oklahoma (Norman) should serve as important outposts in our westward expansion.

At the end of the fiscal year the New England territory, strangely enough, had gained exactly 102 members and lost 102 members so that the membership of the area remains the same.

The Ohio-West Virginia-Kentucky area also experienced a loss of nearly 300 members, one-half of which was in the State of West Virginia. According to the labor press two of our locals in West Virginia, Mingo County Teachers Union,

No. 289 and McDowell County Federation of Teachers, No. 367, were taken over by the CIO during the present year. So far as we are able to learn these are the only locals which have gone over to the CIO.

The largest gain of the year is in the State of Michigan where the membership of the Union has increased more than 50 per cent.

The Illinois-Indiana area is approximately the same as last year. This area with more than 10,000 paid-up members represents approximately one-third of the total membership of the Union.

In the north-central area, made up of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and the Dakotas, the membership of slightly less than 2,000 is approximately the same as that of last year.

The south-central area, consisting of Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama, has made a gain over last year of 11½ per cent.

A number of individual locals have experienced unusual growth during the past year. Local 231, Detroit Federation of Teachers, represents the outstanding growth of the year. The organization of teachers in the suburban Hamtramck area together with progress within the local has increased the membership from 156 in September to 436 in June.

In Toledo, Ohio, Local 250 has added more than 300 members since October, 1939.

Ohio Local 296 Demonstrates Work of Organized Teachers

Local 296, Springfield, Ohio, which was chartered in 1934 with the largest charter membership in the history of the AFT, now has the largest membership in its history and represents more than 90 per cent of the teachers in the city of 80,000. National officers freely predicted in 1934 that a local with such mushroom growth would not hold its membership. This local has an excellent record of achievement and actually has demonstrated what can be accomplished in an average American city with nearly all of the teachers organized within the labor movement. The Central Labor Union of this city has contributed \$25,000 to provide scholarships to assist deserving high-school students in securing a college education.

Atlanta Local 89 is now practically 100 per cent organized in the labor movement. This is one of the oldest locals in the AFT and has made an excellent contribution to education not only in Atlanta but in the nation as a whole. Miss Allie B. Mann, former vice president of AFT and former president of Atlanta Local, was recently elected secretary-treasurer of the Georgia Federation of Labor, one of the outstanding labor bodies in the South.

The local at Birmingham, Alabama, established in April, 1938, has nearly doubled its membership since September, 1939. The local now has 100 paid-up members.

In spite of concerted opposition, Chicago Local 1 has held its membership and remains the largest teachers' union in the world.

The membership of our large locals in New York and Cleveland remain essentially the same as last year.

Local 4 of Gary, Indiana, chartered in April, 1937, has gained approximately 100 members during the present year and now has a membership of nearly 300. A new local has been chartered at Calumet City as an addition to the locals already existing in the suburban area south of Chicago—Gary, East Chicago, Hammond, and Michigan City. These neighboring south suburban locals have a combined membership of more than 500. Local 571, West Suburban Local, near Chicago, chartered in June, 1938, now has more than 400 members.

It is impossible in this brief report to describe all of the accomplishments of locals during the past year. There are, however, a number of victories in locals which should be briefly mentioned here.

Two tenure cases were of sufficient importance to warrant action by the Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Cincinnati, Ohio—those at Jacksonville, Florida, and the University of Montana.

At Jacksonville forty teachers, includ-

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AFT WINS IN FLORIDA AND MONTANA

(Continued from page 11)

ing many of the Union leaders, were dismissed without charges, although there were rumors that the teachers were discharged because they had worked for the enactment of a local tenure law which was passed by the Legislature but vetoed by the Governor. All efforts toward negotiation of the situation were in vain. The Board tenaciously and stubbornly refused to review the cases.

On March 3, 1940, representatives of the Jacksonville Local, the AFT and the Florida Federation of Labor met in Atlanta, Georgia, to plan a program of action for the Jacksonville fight. A contribution of \$500 was granted from the AFT defense fund and an appeal sent to AFT locals for financial assistance. It was decided that the only solution was the election of a new Board of Education and Superintendent of Schools. Thousands of dollars poured into the campaign by the opposition had to be met with hundreds of labor dollars and the votes of thousands of workers. After a hot campaign the local wired the National Office: "Our candidates have won. Thanks for your wholehearted co-operation." (May 29, 1940).

The president of the Union was elected Superintendent of Schools and a majority of the school board was elected by the labor forces. Thus ended one of the greatest tenure fights in the history of American education with victory for labor and the AFT.

Successfully Negotiate Case of Dismissed Montana Professors

The successful negotiation of the cases of the five professors who were unfairly dismissed at the University of Montana by the Montana State Federation of Labor and by the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor is history of education in America. For the first time it has been demonstrated that organized labor may be a powerful factor in defending professors in public institutions from the clutches of political monsters and pressure groups. Five professors were notified of the termination of their contracts at the University. The Montana Federation of Labor took up the fight with the result that eventually the charges were withdrawn. It is probable that all labor support of the university would have been withdrawn had a satisfactory settlement of these cases not been granted.

At the last convention a report was made regarding the dismissal of two union officers of Local 571 at Maywood, Illinois—Miss Wheeler and Ralph Marshall. After eight months of bitter controversy the case was satisfactorily negotiated by representatives of the Board of Education and representatives of the local union, the National Office of AFT, the Chicago Federation of Labor and the president of Local 1. The ultimate outcome of several meetings with attorneys representing both sides was not only the reinstatement of Miss Wheeler and Mr. Marshall but also the first real collective bargaining contract in the history of American Education. President Katek of Local 571 and his associates are highly to be congratulated on their sagacity in handling this case. It is interesting to note that the salaries of Miss Wheeler and Mr. Marshall were paid by the members of the local union assisted by the Chicago Teachers Union and other neighboring locals.

The State of Indiana has been the scene of several important union activities during the past year. Immediately following the last convention it was my pleasure to give the Labor Day address at Seymour, Indiana, where Mr. Judd, president of our new local in that city, had been notified of dismissal. With the support of the local labor movement the case was negotiated and Mr. Judd remained in his position.

Early in the school year Mr. Carl Mullen, president of the Indiana Feder-

Union Signs 1st Collective Bargaining Contract in History of U.S. Education

ation of Labor, conferred with the National Office regarding the possibility and desirability of establishing a free teachers' placement service under the unemployment division in Indiana. The majority of the board is felicitously composed of two labor men including Mr. Mullen and a retired college professor. The service was placed in operation in February of this year and in two months time had placed some fifty teachers and saved the teachers of Indiana sufficient funds in placement fees to pay for the operation of the department for a whole year.

Recently an important decision was rendered in the case of Vernon Sigler (Local 511) against the Board of Education of East Chicago, Indiana. The Board adopted an ex post facto ruling after Mr. Sigler announced his candidacy for the state legislature that teachers must take leave of absence without pay if they became candidates for public office. In a judgment granting Mr. Sigler \$220 in back pay, Judge B. C. Jenkins of Gary Superior Court declared:

"This rule of the school board in a free and enlightened government would defeat the very object which it sought to accomplish. In order to make and enact laws for the government of the people, we must in the first instance have men and women in the legislature who are capable, by reason of training, education and experience, of performing the function of law-makers.

"The court has no hesitancy in saying that our school teachers, as a body, possess these qualities in a high degree and the public, the people, ought not to be deprived of their services in the legislature—the law-making power of the commonwealth, by any act of a school board or school corporation."

This decision involving civil liberties is one of the important judgments in favor of the rights of teachers and represents one of the outstanding victories of the American Federation of Teachers.

In Peru, Indiana, where a new local was chartered May 15, 1939, a valiant fight has been waged to defend the Indiana Tenure Law and the rights of married teachers. The threatened dismissal of married teachers and the adoption of a salary schedule making possible the reduction of the salaries of tenure teachers resulted in the chartering of Local 634. The salary schedule was designed to circumvent the Indiana

Tenure Law by means of a notorious "Class E" providing that the salaries of teachers assigned to this Class should be automatically reduced to a minimum salary permitted by the laws of the State.

Although this case has not been satisfactorily negotiated, some progress has been made. The married teachers have not been dismissed. The salaries of three teachers assigned to "Class E" have been restored in part; no other teachers have been assigned to "Class E." There is evidence that the superintendent and Board do not desire to extend the use of the "Class E" schedule. Important as these accomplishments in Peru are, it should be remembered that the "Class E" schedule will be a constant threat to tenure in Indiana and the nation as long as it remains, and every effort should be made to eliminate it entirely. The legality of the schedule is now being tested in the local courts with the support of our National Academic Freedom Committee.

State of Ohio Has Been Scene of Important Union Activities

The State of Ohio has also been the scene of important Union activities during the past year. The closing of the public schools in Toledo, Ohio, following the defeat of a necessary school levy, was publicized in the press from coast to coast. After the schools closed the same groups which were responsible for the defeat of the levy demanded that salaries of teachers and other school employees be cut and services curtailed sufficiently to "live within the income." A resolution had been introduced to cut the pay from 88 per cent to 80 per cent of the salary schedule for the remainder of the present school term and all of the next school year. After a conference with representatives of the National Office of AFT, the Toledo Central Labor Union, and Local 250, the resolution to cut salaries was withdrawn and the prevailing rate set for the present school year. It is interesting to note that in this one transaction the teachers and other school employees of Toledo were saved approximately a quarter of a million dollars—nearly three times the total budget of the American Federation of Teachers.

Local 411, Newark, Ohio, reports that a local tenure agreement has been adopted providing for dismissal only according to establishment procedure. This achieve-

ment is emphasized by the fact that Newark teachers were threatened with dismissal in 1934 if they joined AFT. Emerson Fishbaugh, President of Local 411 (Newark, Ohio), is also president of the Central Labor Council.

One of the worst tenure cases, which has developed during the past year, is at Akron, Ohio. Twenty-eight teachers were notified of dismissal under a questionable rating system, eighty-two married women teachers were to be placed on half time, and a large number of apprentices were to be assigned to regular teaching work. Thus three vital educational problems are involved in the Akron situation.

The Akron system of rating is especially unfair and unprofessional since teachers may be dismissed on such intangible and ambiguous criteria as civic activities and community relationships, personal appearance, professional adaptability, professional interest and relationships, and so forth. To judge a teacher on this basis a principal must necessarily inquire into the personal life of a teacher in order to determine how active he is in church work, to what organizations he belongs, with whom he associates, what magazines he reads, and whether or not the clothing he wears is in accord with the style approved by the administration.

While it is reported that the number of married teachers to be placed on half time has been reduced and that a smaller number of teachers are to be dismissed, the battle is still on in Akron around these three vital professional problems. As an educational experiment the National Office sent copies of the Akron rating system to a large number of the Akron teachers with a request that the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent be rated by the teachers in the same manner in which the teachers are rated by the administrators. For obvious reasons it is impossible to announce the results of this study at the present time.

Small Local with Strong Labor Backing Sends Interesting Report

One of the most remarkable and interesting reports comes from a small local, No. 569, at Bogalusa, Louisiana, and exemplifies what can be accomplished by a small local which has strong labor backing. The following is taken from a recent letter from the secretary of the local:

"Our little local (569) of about ten really active members has accomplished during its two and a half years existence much more than most of us hoped to achieve in five or ten years. One of our first major successes was to put through a bill in our state legislature making our school board elective instead of appointive by the governor.

"Another successful undertaking was getting salaries paid according to a regular schedule which is based on teacher-training and experience and not on favoritism and political pull as it had been before our activities.

"We successfully elected a Commissioner of Education. A few of the promises he signed before his election have been fulfilled.

"In addition to this there was one major success attained by us during the past year. But that one goal, we believed and still do, was the most important we have yet reached. Through the Central Labor Union we elected a school board of our choosing. Three of the four members signed what we call our "Program of Progress" before they were elected, and since we have met with them as a school board, we have every reason to believe they will keep their promises.

"We are at present working with them on a sick-leave plan whereby the teacher will receive full pay for the first five days of absences due to sickness (i.e., for any five days of absences during a school year) and will thereafter receive the difference between his own salary and the substitute's for any additional absences due to sickness, the word additional not to mean more than 25. The new board practically assured us that the plan would materialize."

Local 519, Anderson, Indiana, reports a victory in the case of a teacher who

(Continued on page 13)



Noted educators who took part in the panel discussion on "Relationships between School and Society." Left to right: John Woodruff, former national vice president of AFT; G. L. Maxwell, Educational Policies Committee of NEA; Florence Sweeney, president of AFT in Detroit, chairman; Lynn A. Emerson, Cornell University and William Gellermann, School of Education, Northwestern University.

Butte Local Organizes 95% of Teaching Staff

(Continued from page 12)

was refused a contract because of marital status. A member of the Union has been appointed to the tax adjustment board which passes on the school budget. The president of the Union, who lives in a neighboring city, was recently appointed a member of the Board of Education in that city.

Mr. John M. Fewkes, president of the Chicago Teachers Union, No. 1, summarizes the activities of the local during the past year as follows:

"Since September, 1939, the Chicago Teachers Union has completed negotiations on many subjects which affect the welfare of its members as well as all the teachers of Chicago. Other matters have been brought before the Superintendent and are under advisement. Still others have been agreed upon by the representative bodies of the Union and are ready for negotiation and decision."

In Chicago the school term has been restored to 40 weeks, salaries have been restored to 92.5 per cent of the 1929 level and a vigorous battle has been carried out against spoils politics in the public schools. The present salary situation in Chicago is a wholesome contrast to the "payless-paydays" of 1933-34.

The Educational Secretaries Union of Chicago, No. 224, which is the only separate local for educational secretaries in the Union, reports that the local has been granted participation in administration to the extent that examinations for applicants for positions are prepared by the Union. The manuscripts are examined by a committee of the Union. Since there have been few instances where teachers organizations have actually participated in the process of employing new teachers, the program of Local 224 is deserving of study.

One of our most successful locals is the Butte Teachers' Union, No. 332, a local with more than 200 members in a city of 40,000. In a recent letter the president of the local writes as follows:

"We attribute our large membership primarily to the betterment of working conditions for the teachers. The Union has accomplished this by the single salary scale, the restoration of one week to our shortened term, some salary compensation in case of absence, and in the very significant aid which the local and state labor organizations gave us especially in helping us secure an appropriation for our retirement system."

New York Teachers, Labor Stop School Budget Cuts

"Only twelve teachers engaged in Butte still remain out of the Union, so we are almost 95 per cent organized."

The local at the University of Colorado (Boulder), chartered in April, 1938, in the very heart of a large unorganized area, has developed into one of the most active unions in the college field. The local has assisted materially in laying groundwork for organization in the West.

In the State of New York AFT locals backed by the labor movement were largely responsible for preventing a heavy slash in state aid for public schools. Several millions of dollars were saved from the economy groups for the children of New York. Mr. Thomas J. Lyons, president of the New York State Federation of Labor writes as follows:

"The magnificent demonstration of loyalty and support which the Federation received from the trade union movement was in my opinion the driving force which prevented the drastic cuts in wages and elimination of teachers. We must be on our guard in order that the education of our children is protected and this can only be done if the teachers receive decent wages."

The Philadelphia Local 192 has led in a fight to prevent a salary reduction under the tenure law. The legal status of the case is being tested in the courts to determine whether salaries can legally be cut under the Pennsylvania tenure contracts.

Local 557, at Kenosha, Wisconsin, which was chartered in 1938 has adopted the policy of building its membership carefully and consistently. The Local

which now has a membership of 72 in a city of 50,000 recently established a women's auxiliary.

In Milwaukee the Union negotiated a satisfactory settlement in the case of a union principal who teaches near Milwaukee and who was threatened with a large reduction in salary for political reasons.

It is interesting to note that the American Federation of Teachers has carried out its extensive program of action and contributed considerable sums to other organizations without receiving financial help from any source other than the extremely small national dues of the members. These dues of less than 5 cents per week per member are the lowest of all unions affiliated with the AFL and only one-fourth the average. In fact, the dues of the individual member are considerably less than the price of the AMERICAN TEACHER magazine, \$2.50. Many progressive educational organizations and movements, including the American Council on Education, the Policies Committee of the NEA and the Social Frontier, have been financed in part by grants from the general education board or other foundations, in one instance to the extent of nearly one million dollars. The AFT has financed its own program completely and at no time has received contributions from any social organization, political party or educational foundation.

National Office Installs Modern Business Methods

As pointed out last year the business methods of the National Office have been gradually modernized, a new accounting system installed, our credit established, and sufficient balance maintained in the treasury to purchase in quantity and discount bills. The revision of this book-keeping system has been a tedious and gigantic clerical task which is now nearing completion. The workers at the National Office are to be highly commended for their faithful service in completing this difficult task while performing the routine duties at the National Office. Few people in the teaching profession can fully appreciate the tremendous amount of clerical and technical work involved in serving more than 200 locals and more than 30,000 members. It should be noted that improved business methods have made possible an annual saving of more than \$2,000 which may be devoted to the services of the Union. This is more than one-half the total amount set aside each year from national per capita for defense against unjust dismissals and equal to two-thirds of the total amount allocated to various academic freedom cases during the present year.

In fact, the AFT is attracting national attention in the labor movement because of the efficient operation of our International Union on extremely small dues. As indicated elsewhere in this report each member actually pays in annual dues less than five cents per week. Approximately 7,000 of our members pay dues of only 10 cents a month, \$1.20 a year, for which the national organization furnishes a monthly magazine which is priced at \$2.50, pays 24 cents in AFL dues, sets aside 12 cents for defense purposes, provides representation in Congress, and furnishes all the other services of the International Union. Certainly this is the greatest bargain in trade unionism in America.

(Continued on page 14)

Four pictures of the 1940 Convention. From top to bottom: top photo, sign at the Hotel Buffalo welcoming delegates; second photo, seated at the registration table, John Costello, Freda Hunt and Anthony J. Bernard, all Buffalo AFT members; third photo, Mary Herrick, former national vice president, and John Fewkes, president of the Chicago Teachers Union, look over the local's Convention exhibit; bottom photo, looking at the exhibit of the New York State Federation of Teachers are Dr. Bella Dodd, state legislative representative, and Charles Hendley, president of Local 5 and former national vice president.



British Union Head Appeals for Refugee Aid

July 11th, 1940

Dear Mr. Counts:

I have sent a cablegram to you on July 7th and want to point out in detail the matter mentioned there.

I am writing this letter anxious to help the Refugee Teachers Association for the sake of the members of the R. T. A., teachers, kindergarten-teachers, educationists, pedagogical psychologists, who had to leave their native country as refugees from Nazi-Oppression.

The conditions under which our refugee-fellow-teachers had to live here were never good. But the internment of all German and Austrian male refugees altered entirely their situation. More than ever they are now a burden to the country. The opinion of HM Government was stated by Mr. Churchill in his speech on June 4th, 1940 as follows: "I know there are a great many people affected by the orders we have made who are the passionate enemies of Nazi Germany. I am sorry for them, but we cannot at the present time and under the present stress draw all the distinctions which we should like to do. If parachute landings were attempted and fierce fighting attendant upon them followed, the unfortunate people would be far better out of the way for their own sakes as well as for ours." (The Times—June 5th, 1940)

On June 12th, 1940, the Duke of Devonshire stated in the House of Lords: "The Duke of Devonshire, Undersecretary for India, said, that the policy of the Government was that public security must come first. While the Government hesitated to cause hardships they would not be deterred by any fear of doing so from taking measures which they felt were de-

The following letter written by Elsie Parker, former president of the National Union of Teachers, England, to President George S. Counts is printed at the request of the executive council of the AFT. Mrs. Parker addressed the national convention of the AFT in 1938 at Cedar Point, Ohio.

manded in the interest of public security. The Government were in touch with America on the question of refugees being sent there, but it would be realized that shipping problems were involved, and we might very well need our shipping for other purposes than sending refugees out of the country.

"It would be impossible to have at present a general review of the cases of the aliens who were now interned in this country. No doubt a great number of these people were genuine refugees who were hundred percent with us, but it could not be doubted that there were some 'wrong ones' among them, and such people were very difficult to spot. In some cases the safety of the aliens themselves required that they should be interned. One could well imagine the plight in which some of these people would find themselves when public feeling had been acerbated by heavy air raids." (The Times—June 13th, 1940)

Both these statements suggest that it would be best to have the refugees "out of the way" in times like these. The problem became even more urgent now after thousands of refugees, who came over from France, had to be interned too. The fact remains that the refugees are looked upon no longer as an asset, but as a liability to this country. There is no doubt about it, that the best solution would be to organize possibilities of immigration to the U.S.A.

for whole groups of refugees. Public opinion as well as the administration in the U.S.A. seems to be already in favour of giving some practical help to England in taking over not only children but refugees too.

I could read in newspapers that Mr. Roosevelt asked the Congress for money for this purpose.

"Though the scheme of taking refugees, particularly children, into American homes, camps and clubs advocated by many influential citizens has not yet been endorsed by the administration, the President today took a long step in the direction of refugee aid by asking the Congress to appropriate £12 mill. to aid the Red Cross in its work in Europe." (The Daily Telegraph—June 12th, 1940)

"Further steps towards appropriating \$50,000,000 for helping refugees in Europe were taken by Congress today. It is expected, that the money will be available within a few days." (Manchester Guardian—June 15th, 1940)

According to the press of June 28th, the Congress granted \$50,000,000 for refugees from Europe. The difficulty is to overcome the obstacles of American Immigration Law. The following way seems to be possible: (1) An American citizen offers hospitality to a refugee for the duration of the war and signs the statement, which makes him responsible for the maintenance of

the refugee; (2) The refugee granted in this way gets the British Traveller Paper as defined under the Geneva Convention of February, 1939, concerning special groups of refugees. This Traveller Paper normally allows the return to England within a year. A special stamp should be added to it, allowing the owner of the Paper to return to England in a limited period after the war; (3) A refugee with the guarantee and such a Traveller Paper should get a visitor visa for the U.S.A. limited for the duration of the war. A great deal of the refugee problem in England would be solved especially for the endangered refugees for the duration of the war. It would not create a liability to England after the war, as 99 per cent of these people will go back to their home country after the downfall of Hitler, which we all think will be at the end of the war.

The same procedure as proposed should be applied to endangered refugees in France, threatened with being handed over to the Gestapo under Article 19 of the armistice terms.

After I have explained all the things I want you to know, may I suggest the following proposals, which would help us to settle these matters: (1) Hospitalities must be found; (2) Funds must be raised; (3) Strongest possible influence must be used on the American public and the American Immigration Authorities to force the grant of facilities for immigration; and (4) Shipping accommodations must be provided.

I hope I did not forget any important detail. May I ask you again to help, to help at once and without hesitation.

ELSIE PARKER

Kuenzli Reports Outstanding AFT Victories During 1939-40

(Continued from page 13)

Many officials of other international unions have pointed out that it is absolutely impossible to operate an international union on such meagre dues and furnish a free professional trade journal. The recovery of AFT from its bankrupt condition of four years ago to a sound financial condition without increase in national dues has brought commendation from many sources in the labor movement. It should be noted, however, that our international union has not merely recovered from its financial crisis but has greatly enlarged the services of the Union to the locals and to the individual member without increasing dues.

American Teacher Published Monthly During School Year

During the last two years the AMERICAN TEACHER has been published monthly during the school year rather than every two months as in previous years. In addition a full time editor and secretary have been employed to produce a much better professional journal. The cost of the magazine has been increased from \$4,000 in 1936 to \$8,500 in 1937, to \$12,700 in 1938, to \$19,500 in 1939 and to nearly \$23,000 during the present year. In other words \$19,000 more was invested in the magazine this year than in 1936 without a single penny of additional cost to the individual member. In addition \$3,600 per year has been set aside during the last three years for the defense of union teachers who were unjustly dismissed. Previous to 1937 the Union had struggled for years to create a defense fund from voluntary contributions outside the national dues. The funds received in this fashion were almost negligible and the total amount collected never reached \$500. During the last three years our improved financial condition has made it possible to set aside more than \$10,000 for defense purposes. Several thousands of dollars have been contributed to locals for the defense of members who

were unjustly dismissed and many significant battles have been won with the support of the defense fund. This important and successful service, the benefit of which may apply to any member of the Union, has been established without any increase in the meagre dues paid by the individual member.

In fact, the enlarged service of the Union to locals and to individual members has been affected in spite of a decrease in the average monthly per capita for each member. The records at the National Office show that the average per capita has decreased approximately 25 per cent since the beginning of the depression. This decrease was the natural result of reduced salaries and the influx of the large number of members in the 10 cents and 15 cents categories.

During the past year the labor press of America has done a notable piece of work in implementing American education in the minds of millions of organized workers of the nation. The Labor Press Association of America issued a release on the education program of the 1939 American Federation of Labor Convention. The A. F. of L. Weekly News Service carried a series of releases on the same subject. Numerous local labor papers printed not only these stories but also the education program of the Permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor which was sent to all central labor unions and state federations throughout the nation. Labor, official publication of fifteen standard railway organizations, carried this program as a front page story. Almost without exception local labor papers have devoted generous space to combating retrenchment programs and attempts to curtail the financial support of the schools. In like manner local labor papers have rendered valuable assistance in giving publicity to unjust dismissals of teachers.

The American Federationist, official journal of the American Federation of Labor, has carried a number of editorials

on various phases of education. In a recent communication Mr. George Meany, newly elected secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, offers to give us free space in the journal for the publication of a digest of the proceedings of this convention. The journal is now published with a new and more attractive format. The Labor Information Bulletin, official monthly publication of the United States Department of Labor, in the July issue devotes leading space to a story about the history, growth, and program of the AFT.

At the time of our 1939 convention the Workers Education Bureau, co-operating with the Permanent Committee on Education of the AFL, had just published a booklet, Labor and Education, giving a summary of the principles and practices of the labor movement in the field of education from 1881 to 1939. This study was immediately recognized as an important contribution to educational literature of the nation. As a result of many requests from teachers colleges, libraries, labor unions, and students of labor, the first edition of 5,000 copies was quickly exhausted and more than 2,000 copies of a second edition have already been distributed. This booklet has been distributed by the National Office during the past year to libraries of all colleges and universities throughout the nation.

Five International Unions Represented on Committee

Officers of the Bureau and members of the Education Committee in conference at the AFL Convention decided to publish a supplement, Labor and Education in 1939. Realizing that much of the splendid program of the labor movement is buried in the voluminous convention proceedings, it was thought advisable to reprint the education program along with certain pertinent addresses. It is hoped that this plan may be followed in future years and that a living record may be established of labor's continued interest in education.

The Permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor is composed of representatives from five international unions including the secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers. During the past year the Committee has given consid-

erable time to a study of the controversial study of vocational education and has prepared a tentative bill for introduction to Congress in an attempt to iron out certain difficulties which have existed in the operation of the Smith-Hughes and George Dean Acts.

Perhaps the most significant contribution to our own international union was the publication under date of February 1, 1940, of an education program for 1940. This program which was mailed to all central labor unions and all state federations throughout the nation is undoubtedly the most emphatic and comprehensive statement in favor of public education and rights of teachers ever issued by any powerful lay group in America. The statement urges labor bodies actively to support adequate school finance including federal aid, to oppose organized groups seeking to crush the public schools, and to assist teachers in securing better salaries, tenure of office, sick leave, smaller classes, and so forth.

The 1940 convention of the American Federation of Teachers brings to a close, therefore, the greatest year of achievement in the history of the Union. It is probable that the past year will go down in history as one of the most important years in our total history and that the victories of the past year will be enhanced with the passing of the years. It has been a banner year of accomplishment at a time when the Union has suffered the most powerful opposition in its history. It has been a year of dynamic support from the forces of organized labor. It has been a year of growing prestige and power in American education. It has been a year of battle with the forces of retrenchment—to the end that millions of dollars have been saved for the education of the nation's children.

No man can say what the immediate future has in store for us. It is a time of chaos and uncertainty. Whatever the future may be, let us battle courageously for democracy in education and education for democracy. Upon the foundation of our accomplishments of the past year, let us build a greater, stronger AFT. May this Convention serve as a united committee of the whole to carry forward the AFT banner during the coming year!

Report Proposes Year-Round Program

Building New Locals, Aiding Others, Main Aim

The following report on organizational problems of the American Federation of Teachers was presented by Arthur Elder on behalf of the Executive Council to the Convention. It was adopted by the Convention.

THE PROBLEM of organization is fundamental to the growth, health of our Union. It is obvious from Mr. Kuenzli's report that we have a two-fold program to work out immediately. One is to organize new locals in areas not yet touched, especially west of the Mississippi and in those areas in which there are active state organizations; the other is to keep newly organized and established locals intact and to stimulate them to healthy growth. While the organization of new locals is important it is absolutely essential that established locals continue to grow both in terms of membership and increased local prestige.

In the general organization program, it is important to emphasize the distinctive service which our Union provides. Our association with labor is the outstanding benefit that accrues to any body of teachers ready to join our forces. The support of powerful state and local labor organizations, which in many instances have well-established machinery for influencing politics, is the most obvious benefit that accrues. The free public school system, which organized labor instituted in this country, can best be served by organized labor if labor union members can depend upon an active group in the faculties to acquaint them with those problems in which they would have a natural concern. Another benefit, less obvious but of inestimable value to our organization, is the opportunity this affiliation gives the teacher in comprehending the problems of a large and important sector of the community population—labor. Both these benefits should be effectively presented in our organization meetings.

New Methods of Organizing Advocated by Membership

Your Council believes that a twelve-months program and service based on awareness of problems affecting the schools in itself will result in organizational growth. Whereas most teacher organizations disintegrate at the end of the school year, vital local and state organizations in our Union should stand ready to guard the interests of the classroom teachers whenever they are threatened. In many instances, where school boards have seen fit to announce dismissals after schoolteachers have left their communities for their summer studies, conventions or vacations, our organization has been able to collect information and to organize community groups which later proved successful in reinstating teachers and in crystallizing sentiment for tenure and academic freedom.

In the past, the use of the organizers under the supervision of the regional vice presidents and the National Office cannot be said to have been successful. At our convention a year ago, it appeared to be the feeling of the membership that new methods of organizing be developed. This was evidenced by the report which was adopted by the Federation recommending the allotment of organization funds to state federations. While the Council endorses this principle of extending organization through state federations, it does not wish to forestall the use of field-service representatives. Rather it is expected that when funds become available the natural outgrowth through organization of new locals and stimulation of existing locals and state federations will be the employment of national, state and local field-service employees working in the interest of



The Convention committee on organization thrashes out some of the perplexing problems faced by the AFT. The October issue of the "American Teacher" will be organized around the reports of Convention committees and will include short statements by the new committee chairmen on the work of the standing committees.

an integrated program.

During the past year the National Office has matched state-federation appropriations up to a maximum of \$300 to extend organization within the states. Eleven of the thirteen existing state federations availed themselves of national funds under this new plan. We believe this policy should be continued since it gives the national organization the benefit of the most equitable and effective use of organizational funds. The state organization, which should be most cognizant of its own situations and accompanying psychological problems, is given the responsibility of determining where, when and how to organize in new localities. The National Office is preparing auditor's report blanks for the use of the state federations which take advantage of the matching features of our present organization program. These forms together with statements outlining the organizational activity within the state are to be submitted to the National Office annually. Your Council recommends that such reports and statements be submitted at least thirty days before the convention in accordance with the practice established for the submission of reports of vice presidents.

Publicity is an important phase of the organization program nationally, through state federations and the issuance of local publications and bulletins. The Council recommends that locals be advised to have systematic programs of

publicity. Proper emphasis should be given to educational as well as to professional welfare problems. Such publicity tends to offset a public misconception that members of the Teachers' Union are mercenary and engaged principally in community conflicts. When issues of salaries and tenure arise, the local publicity should have already set the character of Union objectives. In all cases emphasis should be placed on quality and timeliness rather than on quantity in issuing publicity material.

No local can long exist where there has been only haphazard and slipshod preparation of programs. The new local, which is timid in its program formulation, might be encouraged at the outset to present in its programs the national aspect of public school problems and their social and political implications. They should be encouraged also to affiliate immediately with central labor bodies and to send delegates to the state labor federation conventions. Such experience should impress them with the effectiveness of a well-defined local program, and their observation of the tactics and techniques of related groups should school them in techniques for working out solutions of local problems.

The Council recommends that locals be impressed with the necessity for electing a treasurer who collects promptly and regularly the monthly dues of each member. Delay in collection gives weaker members opportunity to rationalize

Labor Fights Education's Enemies

"I am aware of the fact that a concerted attack is being made upon the public schools throughout the country. An attack is being promoted by the very same reactionary interests and groups that have consistently opposed the advance of organized labor and the improvement of the lot of our working men and women.

"These people can always find the money to support the causes and undertakings which they believe in, but not being dependent upon the public school for the education of their children, they insist that we are spending too much on public schools and that the educational services should be reduced.

"Here in the State of New York we have met these people during the past year. The New York State Economic Council, representing the great corporations of the state, has taken a lead in the attack upon our schools. The New York State Federation of Labor, with its 1,400,000 members, distributed over the entire state,

representing 28 per cent of the membership of the American Federation of Labor, is here in this great State of New York as a very powerful factor in this fight.

"We have co-operated with the New York State Federation of Teachers and other teachers' organizations, and with all the forces interested in defending the cause of public education. On the whole, we have been able to turn back the attack. We know the fight is not over. There are those who oppose education, as they oppose the advance of working men and women.

"We must be continually vigilant. It has been said that vigilance is the price of liberty. It is also the price that must be paid for public education. And unless all signs fail, this price is going to be particularly heavy during the coming years."

THOMAS J. LYONS, President,
New York State Federation
of Labor at the AFT
Convention.

Full Co-operation of All Members Vital to Growth

themselves into dropping their membership. It is not difficult to understand how this tends to destroy the morale of new unions which might otherwise enjoy a natural and healthy growth. On the basis of the secretary's report it is reasonable to assume that if proper collection procedures were in force in all locals our active membership list would indicate four to six thousand more members than it actually does. Payment of per capita on full membership monthly and collection of dues in advance either at quarterly or half-yearly intervals as the secretary has pointed out in a bulletin will undoubtedly be reflected in increased effectiveness of our national organization.

Considerable thought and preparation should be made for the expansion of the American Federation of Teachers during the summer months. The gathering together of teachers from all over the nation into universities and teacher-training colleges makes for an ideal opportunity to bring the AFT before teachers when they can be free to attend Union-sponsored meetings. It likewise gives Union members from all over the United States a chance to meet and talk with other teachers about their Union and its programs. Where state federations are in existence summer session programs should be arranged in universities and colleges wherever possible in cooperation with local unions.

Must Try and Test Various Methods of Expanding AFT

Various methods of expanding the AFT must be tried and tested. In places where locals of the AFT are not strong and where the schools of education and teacher-training departments are opposed to the Union in principle, two or three representatives who stand high in our profession might be secured to deliver addresses to the students of the summer sessions. It is essential in such situations that the programs be prepared with ingenuity and tact. Speakers who have the respect of teachers all over the nation should be engaged for such meetings.

On campuses where there exist locals with good representation in the teacher-training departments, such as at Northwestern University and Teachers College, the policy of having a planned weekly meeting for Union members and friends has been successful. In such situations it is possible to make the AFT program an integral part of the summer school sessions.

The sending of representatives from the National Office is also helpful in providing information about the activities of the national organization, its publications and the activities of various locals throughout the country. This practice should be extended and continued. Mr. Guernsey's report* of his visits with college groups throughout the country during the summer suggests the direction in which our summer school program may be expanded and made most effective. Your Council recommends a careful reading of this report.

No program of organization, whether through the National Office, state federations or locals, can be successfully implemented without the fullest co-operation of the individual members who in the last analysis represent the greatest organizing influence in the AFT.

Your Executive Council therefore recommends finally that, in addition to earnest consideration of the brief suggestions here outlined for you, every member attending this Convention will consider himself a member of an organization committee of the whole.

*Copies of the report on AFT work in summer schools may be secured by writing to George T. Guernsey, 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Fight for Academic Freedom Outlined

In answer to the question, "How can we protect academic freedom in the present situation?" the National Academic Freedom Committee suggested the following 7-point program at the AFT Convention.

I. Bringing the problems of education in a democracy to organized labor: The principal force in the establishment of free schools, organized labor today is the primary force that can keep them free. Every effort should therefore be directed toward bringing the power of all of labor's forces to bear upon critical situations. Where this is achieved, there the defense of freedom is assured.

II. Enlisting the support of the parents: If the general citizenry is misled at times into taking actions that harm the schools, teachers must assume part of the blame for not having effectively brought the problems of education to the parents. The Jacksonville local, being aware of this, knew also that school problems could not be brought to the average citizen merely through resolutions or printed statements. The problem was one of going from home to home and sitting down with Mr. Smith and Mr. Brown for an evening to discuss the welfare of their children and their schools.

III. Insisting on the right of a hearing before dismissal: At the present one of the gravest dangers facing the teaching profession lies in hasty and unexplained dismissals. At the core of such dismissals one usually finds petty or discriminatory reasons, and, at such times as these, an easy yielding to the emotional currents of public opinion. The irrational character of many dismissals which occurred during the World War is adequate testimony to this fact. The first request for such a procedure is today supported in principle by virtually all teacher organizations, and also by the American Association of Teachers Colleges.

IV. Avoidance of hysteria: Because teachers necessarily set an example for the young people and because the teaching process cannot effectively go on in an atmosphere of emotional panic, teachers have a particular responsibility to remain calm in crises and to resist hysteria. In order to do this they must of necessity be aware of the various devices that have been used to create waves of uncontrolled feeling. If teachers themselves contribute to hysteria, they strengthen the enemies of free schools and undermine the defense of academic freedom.

V. Establishing and building an adequate sustaining fund: Fear of the lack of support of themselves and their families doubtless is the most important factor in preventing the full exercise and defense of freedom by teachers. Many of our locals have in the past recognized the importance of helping to sustain unjustly dismissed teachers. In Flint teachers ousted because of union activity have been assisted financially for several years. In Chicago, the two teachers who recently won reinstatement were sustained throughout the period of the campaign. Because of the present emergency, the problem requires a more comprehensive approach. Whether the sustaining fund

Many Groups Ask for Jan. Reprints

A cross-section of wide national interest in the January, 1940, issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER is shown by the group of organizations and individuals who ordered reprints of that issue, it was announced by George T. Guernsey, editor, in his Convention report.

Among such groups and persons were: Southern Tenant Farmers Union; Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary; H. E. Allen, Occidental College; Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Board of Education, Methodist Episcopal Church; Hyde Park League of Women Voters; G. H. Ferguson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina; and many others.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith purchased 3,000 copies of this issue for distribution among educational and religious groups.

should be established on a national or a state basis is for the convention to determine.

VI. Maintaining a standing academic freedom committee in every local: For several years locals have been urged to establish standing academic freedom committees, and an increasing number have found it both wise and necessary to do so. That the present situation is one which demands vigilance is hardly to be questioned. It is therefore suggested that standing committees be established to accumulate information about the experiences of other locals and thereby increase the effectiveness of their own defense activity, should that become necessary. The service which such standing committees can perform both in bringing developments to the attention of their memberships and in securing support for unjustly dismissed teachers in other communities would be invaluable.

VII. Refusal to declare a moratorium on the defense of academic freedom: In periods of stress such as the present the obstacles encountered in defending freedom are likely to be so enormous as to cause hesitation and perhaps even neglect. It is incontestable that disregard of any abridgements of academic freedom opens the door to new abridgements. Let us therefore refresh in our own minds the principles of academic freedom and democracy adopted by last year's convention, and determine to uphold these principles by actively and vigorously combatting every violation of them. In the opinion of the Committee, they do not serve who only stand and wait.

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Guernsey Re-appointed AFT Editor

George T. Guernsey, editor of the AMERICAN TEACHER for the past two years, was re-appointed by the new Executive Council and given a tenure contract as provided for in the AFT constitution. The Editorial Committee this year will be composed of Mildred Berleman, Chicago chairman, Michael J. Eck, Cleveland, George Axtelle, Northwestern University, and Irvin Kuenzli, secretary-treasurer of the AFT. Kermit Eby, executive-secretary of the Chicago Teachers Union, will remain as consulting editor.

In giving Mr. Guernsey a tenure contract, the Executive Council provided that anyone opposing Mr. Guernsey's appointment may present a statement by December 1 which will be considered at the mid-year meeting of the Executive Council.

Special October Issue

The October issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER will be organized around the reports of Convention committees. For this reason some material ordinarily published in the September newspaper will be held over until October. In order to publish the magazine earlier in the month, the editor has set the deadline for each issue to be the 15th of the preceding month.

In other words, material for the November issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER will be due October 15. The magazine will reach the membership by the 7th or 8th of each month. At the recommendation of the editor the Committee also decided to put greater stress on organizational material and on articles dealing with the work of the AFT locals. Mr. Kuenzli and George S. Counts, AFT president, will contribute a page to each issue of the magazine.

Legislative Edition

The Committee hopes to publish a special issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER dealing with problems of taxation. It is also planning a special article summarizing legislation affecting the schools which is introduced into state legislatures during the month of February.



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He closed his short talk with this statement:

"All the teachers have been very sympathetic to us, both in words and in deed, and so we thought we would ask for a chance to speak to all the teachers at once, so that more of them could be sympathetic. From what I have heard already today, I know that all these teachers are aware that freedom for teachers and intellectual and cul-

tural freedom are guaranteed mostly by freedom for the working people."

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